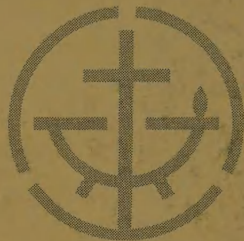


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HISTORY
OF
THE SACRED SCRIPTURES
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT

BY

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*TRANSLATED FROM THE FIFTH REVISED AND ENLARGED
GERMAN EDITION, WITH NUMEROUS BIBLIO-
GRAPHICAL ADDITIONS*

BY

EDWARD L. HOUGHTON, A. M.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THIS translation of Reuss's "History of the New Testament," begun three years ago, while the translator was a student in Andover Theological Seminary, and carried on since in the intervals of leisure from other occupations, is now presented to the public, in the hope that it may prove useful to English and American students of the New Testament, as it has already been to those of German speech.

The translation has been made from the fifth revised edition (Brunswick, 1874), without abridgment, and with the consent of the author. The attempt has been to render the thought as accurately as possible, and at the same time in fairly idiomatic and readable English. The translator has supplemented the bibliography to the best of his ability by inserting, in square brackets, references to English and American literature (with which the author was less familiar), as well as to German and French works which have appeared since the publication of the last edition of the original. He does not flatter himself that these additions are by any means exhaustive, or so complete as they might have been had his resources been greater, but he indulges the hope that they may prove to have increased considerably the value of the book. The index has also been increased to more than twice its proportions in the original.

The sincere thanks of the translator are due, and are hereby expressed, to Prof. J. H. Thayer, D. D., of Cambridge, Mass., at whose suggestion the work was originally taken up, and whose encouragement and kindly aid have made it in many a point better than it could otherwise have been.

EDWARD L. HOUGHTON.

MEDFORD, MASS., June 5, 1884.

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PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

A BOOK which has the honor to present itself to students for the fifth time, and which, after more than thirty years in our fast-living and impatiently progressive age, is still permitted to appear in the market, should not be without a word of preface. Moreover, such a word is not unnecessary as a matter of explanation and apology. The information that the last edition was exhausted and a new one desired came to me wholly unexpectedly. In view of the direction which work in the field of the history of the Bible was more and more taking, I had long since familiarized myself with the thought that, although my method had been approved by many, the results which I had obtained and advocated only mark a standpoint already superseded. And so I had turned my attention to wholly different matters, content that my work had been able to render service for a time, and in the fixed expectation that some other, more in keeping with views now prevalent, would take its place.

That I am permitted to appear once more may be due to the fact that the form into which I have cast the material is one that is appropriate to the idea of the science; that I have cited the literature more fully than this has been done elsewhere; and that more than one series of events, closely connected with the history of the Bible, are here introduced, for which one seeks in vain in the other most widely circulated works of this kind. The addition of these latter, however, I readily admit, is of little importance in the judgment of my contemporaries. For they, for the most part, still ask only after the position which one takes with reference to certain burning questions of criticism. I cannot conceal from myself, therefore, the fact that I have not given satisfaction to professional scholars, and hence cannot expect—even less now than before—that my book will be favorably received on the one side or the other. If I express a doubt with reference to a tradition, be it never so ill-founded, the conservatives miss in the would-be historian the indispensable quality of “objectivity;” if I am unable, doubtless from natural lack of acuteness, to discover the

fine seams by which, it is said, a supposed apostolic writing betrays itself as a piece of patchwork by several hands, the critics have ready the neat epithet of "petty apologist," by which the matter is settled at once.

I by no means complain that both sides alike are dissatisfied. Still less should I think of imagining that I have spoken the final word upon any point. I am convinced that the science which I on my part have striven to promote in some degree will be set before the next generation in a more complete form and with more definite results than is the case to-day and in this work. My book may then take its modest place in the history of the science, like many earlier works, which are still spoken of, perhaps, but little used, after having served their contemporaries for a time and satisfied many.

E. R.

STRASSBURG, *March 23, 1874.*

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INTRODUCTION.

1. Under the name Holy Scriptures of the New Testament is comprehended in general that collection of books which the Christian Church has recognized as the authentic records of the revelation communicated through its founder Jesus Christ. Inasmuch, however, as it was only gradually that the judgment of the Church respecting the right of individual books to be received into such a collection became settled, and since the content of the term Holy Scriptures was different at different times, we take it, for the present, in a wider sense, understanding by it all writings which have at any time been referred to the Apostles and their inspiration, and which, considered as sacred, have been made the basis of religious instruction in the Christian Church, or by any sect arising out of it.

New Testament. Double signification of the term: the ecclesiastical and popular, as designation of a book; the biblical and theological, as a religious dispensation (*i. q.* New Covenant). The latter is here adopted. *Vocatur N. F. tota ea religionis forma quam sua presentia ministerio omnibusque actionibus constituit Christus* (*Centur. Magd.*, I. 29, ed. Baumgarten). In this work, for the sake of brevity, and where there is no danger of misunderstanding, the abbreviation N. T. stands also for the book.

By Apostle is meant in this work, as in the N. T. itself, any Christian missionary whom history or tradition places in immediate connection with Jesus or his twelve disciples.

2. The history of these writings is the presentation of the facts relating to their origin, to the collections which have been made of them, to the changes which these collections have undergone, as wholes or in their component parts, to their relations to the Christian community, and to the use which has been made of them in the theological schools. All theoretical concern with their contents, whether for the establishment of their higher authority, or for the examination of their doctrinal value, lies without the sphere of this history.

Distinction between a history of the N. T. literature and a literary history of the N. T. (Cf. § 395.)

3. This history is a critical one in so far as it sufficiently establishes the facts presented and impartially judges of them. Indeed, it is altogether unnecessary to ascribe this character-

istic to it expressly, since, were it lacking, either in basis or method, there would be no history at all. Furthermore, it deserves the name of history only in so far as it arranges the facts in accordance with its own principles and its own judgment, and not according to an accidental and capricious tradition.

F. Overbeck, *Entstehung und Recht einer rein hist. Betrachtung der neuestl. Schriften*, Basle, 1871.

A popular history of the N. T., since calculated to meet an entirely different want, would have reference to the domain of practical theology, and from its necessarily superficial and fragmentary character could have no claim to the name of a history. In the following, therefore (§ 15 ff.), there is no reference made to literature of this class.

For the essential difference between the present history and the former so-called Introductions, see § 23.

4. From a methodological and practical point of view our science is connected with Theology, and belongs to the circle of theological sciences; in the first place, as one of the sciences auxiliary to Biblical Exegesis, which, to Protestant theologians at least, has ever been the foundation and point of departure for the apprehension and presentation of Christian doctrine. It stands in the same relation to it as do Biblical Philology, Archæology, and Hermeneutics. But it is especially when it does not content itself with treating its material on its purely literary side, but conceives it in its close and constant connection with the development of doctrine and life, that it appears also as a special division, distinct in itself, of the history of the Christian Church. In no other sense does it lay claim to a theological character.

It is by no means to be confounded with the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, their inspiration, and the canon, which forms an essential part of Dogmatics. This latter doctrine stands in the closest relation to all the other doctrines of the system, and consequently in organic connection with principles and convictions which perhaps have grown up in the field of speculation or of religious feeling and faith, or at least have been able to subordinate the historical elements which they may have accepted to the others.

Early attempts to bring the scientific study of the Bible into logical relation with theology as a whole, from older standpoints (general encyclopædic works excepted): J. B. Röschel, *De Natura et Constitutione Theol. Exeg.*, Vit. 1709; J. G. Töllner, *Philologie s. notio*, Frankf. a. V. 1760; D. C. Ries, *Epitome philolog. critices et hermeneutices*, Magd. 1789. Cf. A. G. Rudelbach, *Theologie und Isagogik*, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1848, I.

5. As history, however, it is and must ever be independent; that is to say, must seek its goal within itself, and be independent of all theological systems. Whether Apologetics may find welcome aid in the results of its investigations, or Polemics may base its attacks upon them, is a question which it does not lie within its province to consider. On the other hand, the subject of which it treats, considered simply as a historical

matter, wholly aside from its importance from the point of view of religion and universal history, has peremptory claims to respect and earnest attention. Digressions into the sphere of Praxis can do no violence to this ideal point of view.

The Protestant theologian finds in the history of his church warrant for that independence which to the historian is a self-evident right. Cf. § 332 ff.

The independence of this branch of science is in our times begrudged not alone, as formerly, by those who consider every departure from the ideas which have become popular by custom as a damnable heresy; but danger threatens from the other side also, since often every agreement with tradition, every suspension of judgment, is derided as a pitiful evidence of critical impotence. It is no commendation of any system that it must haggle with history in order to build itself up; nor is it to the credit of any presentation of history that it should seek its justification wholly or chiefly in combating received ideas.

6. The value of this history for Theology is in part a special, in part a general, one. It appears in Exegesis, by furnishing the interpreter with the historical data necessary for the understanding of each particular book; in Dogmatics, by informing the theologian of the nature and origin of the books whence he is to draw the doctrines of Christianity, and of the state of the text of these books; in History, by facilitating the understanding of many phenomena in church and school, and especially by the vivid picture it presents in the apostolic writings of the development of the Church during the period of its origin. The high interest which attaches to such investigations contributes in general to protect Theology against the spirit of indolence, the power of tradition, and the domination of the letter.

7. The facts with which this history is concerned arrange themselves in the following natural order:—

(1.) Origin and Development of a Sacred Literature of the New Testament.

(2.) Collection of sacred books of the Christians into a whole, for use in the churches.

(3.) Preservation of their original form.

(4.) Dissemination of the collection among Christian peoples.

(5.) Use made of them in Theology.

Thus arise five divisions of our history, which will be treated in the order specified.

8. The first division is the History of the Literature, in the proper, narrower sense; that is to say, the account of the circumstances which brought the apostolic writings into existence, and the pragmatic enumeration and description of all phenomena in the field of early Christian authorship which have at any time and in any place come into contact with the

sacred collection. This division, therefore, treats of the origin, aim, plan, and genuineness of each book, and of its author and first readers, with reference to the place which it held in the general movement of its time.

This division thus enriches the science of Introduction, as formerly existing, in the following respects especially, beside others: (1) by presenting the general facts of the history of early Christian authorship; (2) by pointing out the gaps in the literature that has come down to us; (3) by giving the history of the N. T. Apocrypha.

This last is indispensable for the understanding of the history of the canon; and a pragmatic history of the dissemination of the Bible among the people, without taking the Apocrypha into account, is in great measure an impossibility. But both the extent and place of its introduction are dependent upon the above-given point of view.

The same point of view, furthermore, establishes an essential distinction between our work and previous Introductions, so called. These confined themselves to purely literary questions, or at least made them most prominent, while in the present work the spiritual and theological development of the Church forms at once the background and the filling in of the literary history.

9. The second division is the History of the Canon, or the selection made by the Church of those apostolic writings which were considered genuine, and the combination of them into a whole, whose components, inseparable among themselves, were to be sharply distinguished from all other writings, in accordance with the character of divine inspiration and authority ascribed to them exclusively.

Enlargement of the plan of former Introductions: (1) by constant consideration of the history of the general Christian canon of the Bible; (2) by its continuation down to recent times.

10. The third division is the History of the Text. It narrates the fortunes through which it has passed from its first publication down to the discovery of the art of printing, the nature and origin of the alterations which it has suffered during this time, together with the attempts of later and modern times to restore its original and genuine form.

The theory of (lower) criticism, which has crept into the text-books on the science of Introduction because it is not usually suitably treated elsewhere, has no place, as theory, in the present history. But as a historical force it is fitly interwoven, according to the different phases of its development, with the history of the printed text.

11. The fourth division is the History of the Versions into all ancient and modern languages. We are here concerned, however, not so much with these languages as such, and the possible influence of their genius upon the presentation of Christian ideas, as with the amount of knowledge of these ideas made accessible to different nations.

This division, in its previous form a section under the head of Criticism,

appears, in the extension which we here give it, as an addition from Church History, or as a selection from the history of popular exegesis, in both of which places, however, the important facts are usually imparted in an incomplete and obscure manner.

The distinction between ancient and modern (*versiones antiquæ, vernaculæ*), mediate and immediate (*mediate, immediate*), versions here loses a large part of its significance, or rather is the basis (at least in respect of the first) of a relative value exactly opposite to that formerly accepted.

12. The fifth and last division may be apprehended, in general, as the History of Exegesis or Biblical Interpretation; that is to say, a historical account of the various hermeneutical systems which have been applied to Scripture, and a description of the more important and interesting exegetical works, from the most ancient to the most modern times. It is only because of the fact, established by experience, that these systems are inseparable from ruling dogmatic conceptions that it becomes also, and essentially, a history of the mutual relations of Dogmatics and Scripture.

For this reason this last division is closely connected with the second, in which the facts to be adduced likewise stand in near relation to Theology proper. It is by no means a merely arbitrary addition to the rest, but is something demanded by our whole conception of the science; an application of the facts given (§ 8, last Rem.) in the process of the spiritual development of the Church; the natural and necessary completion of the whole.

13. Inasmuch, therefore, as in our whole presentation of the subject we take not so much a literary-historical point of view as most of our immediate predecessors have done, but rather the religio-ecclesiastical, it is self-evident that in many important divisions of our history we shall be obliged to have reference to the Old Testament as well. For one does not need to be reminded that from the first in the Christian Church the sacred books of Israel were placed in the same relation to faith and life as the writings of the disciples of Jesus. Consequently it would often be not only difficult and inconvenient to separate the two parts, but absolutely inadmissible. Only that which was already done and completed before the days of the Apostles lies beyond our present horizon; together with that which, since that time, has been done within the walls of the synagogue, and has neither been caused nor influenced by the mind of the Church.

A combination of the two divisions of Scripture throughout, in all branches of the subject, which was formerly the invariable method, is possible only when the intent is merely an outward aggregation of the material, and not a pragmatic treatment of it. The latest attempts to accomplish it (Bertholdt, § 19, Hupfeld, §§ 15, 23) have brought out in clear light the inconvenience and impracticability of such an arrangement, by which, instead of a living organism, only a piece of artificial patchwork is produced. Neither is their absolute separation possible; for in the last two divisions throughout, and in the second at least partially, the two elements are so intimately connected

that to tear them asunder would involve violence and mutilation. We shall pass over here, therefore, after the pre-Christian history of the sacred literature and of the canon, only what is purely Jewish, the Rabbinical criticisms on the text, the translations made for the synagogues, and whatever else might be mentioned in this circle of biblical works.

14. We prefer the plan of Introduction above set forth to that by periods, formerly more in favor in writing history, for the reason that the particular series of facts separated out by us not infrequently stand in relations of mutual interaction among themselves, and it is more advantageous to consider the whole course of development of each particular series by itself than to view all at once the events of each century in spheres so distinct.

In particular, the history of the canon does not begin until that of the literature has in the main been closed; the history of the text, versions, and interpretation do not properly begin, at least not according to the extant records, until the time when the canon was soon to be closed; and even where they come in contact with one another they are not essentially interdependent.

15. The History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament is in its limits and methods a modern science, in which, up to the present time, only more or less incomplete attempts have been made. Even these attempts do not begin until about the time of the Reformation, the previous centuries having had neither the means nor the disposition to develop a science which demands so much preliminary historical knowledge and a method so thoroughly critical. The exclusive domination of tradition, and the all-absorbing interest in theoretical and practical pursuits, in like manner necessarily pushed into the background the treatment of Scripture from a literary-historical point of view.

The literature of this science is summarily catalogued and estimated in Rosenmüller's *Handbuch der Literatur der bibl. Kritik und Exegese* (1797 ff., 4 Pts. incomplete), Pt. I. [Hagenbach, *Encykl. u. Methodologie d. theol. Wissenschaften*, 10th ed., L. 1880, p. 151 ff.]; Credner's *Einleitung*, I. 6-52; Hupfeld, *Ueber Begriff und Methode der sog. bibl. Einleitung* (Marb. 1844), p. 39 ff. [Noch ein Wort über d. Begriff d. sog. bibl. Einl., in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1861, I.]; F. C. Baur, *Die Einleitung ins N. T. als theol. Wissenschaft. Ihr Begriff und Entwicklungsgang*, etc., *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, IV. ; 1851, I, II., III.

The collections and investigations of certain Church Fathers (particularly Eusebius) may be regarded as the earliest preliminary works : see § 307 ff.

Slight beginnings of a special Introduction to the N. T. (the *Synopsis S. S. of Chrysostom*, *Opp.*, Vol. VI., covers only the O. T.; that found in the works of Athanasius (§ 320) is of uncertain age), in the Muratorian Fragment (§ 310), in the prefaces of Jerome, also in Junilius (6th cent.), *De partibus legis divine* ll. II. (in Gallandi, *Bibl. PP.*, Vol. XII., and separately; M. A. Cassiodorus (doubtless of about the same date), *De institutione divinarum Scripturarum*, or *De divinis lectionibus* (*Opp.*, Rouen, 1679, Vol. II., also separately); Nicolaus a Lyra († 1340) in the prolegomena to the *Postillæ*;

see § 541. Cf. in general, for the whole period, the History of Exegesis, below.

Under this head are usually enumerated, but incorrectly, the hermeneutical and methodological works of Tychonius (*Liber regularum*), Augustine (*De doctrina christiana*), Hadrian (Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς), Eucherius (*Liber formularum spir. intelligentie*), and many others. Cf. § 517. It is noteworthy that it is precisely for these last that the name Introduction was first used (*Libri introductorii*, Cassiodorus).

16. True, the Reformation did not immediately have any favorable influence upon the development of this science, because its best powers were directed toward another and higher end; but the manifold stimulation of intellectual activity in the exegetical and historical departments of theology brought about by it could not fail to react upon the conceptions of the history of the Bible. Yet it was the Catholics who not only first attempted to collect and work over the already accumulated material, but also sooner than the Protestants arrived at methods which may even now be followed with profit, and results which are yet worthy of recognition.

Santes Pagninus (of Lucca, † 1541), *Isagoge ad ss. literas* (together with the works mentioned in § 551), 1536, fol. and freq.; Sixtus of Siena († 1599), *Bibliotheca sancta*, Ven. 1566, fol. and freq. In both the hermeneutic element is the predominant one.

J. de la Haye, *Prolegomena in V. et N. T.*, in his *Biblia maxima*, 1660, Vol. I. and XIII. (§ 552).

Bh. Lamy, *Apparatus biblicus*, 1696; L. E. du Pin († 1719), *Dissertation préliminaire ou prolégomènes sur la Bible*, P. 1699, 2 vols. 4° and freq.

Special mention as useful preliminary and accessory labors is due to the patristic studies, especially of the Benedictines, the philological of the editors of oriental versions, for example, in the Antwerp and Paris Polyglotts, and the critical on the history of the biblical text, especially of the O. T., by J. Morin and others.

The Oratorian Rich. Simon († 1719) surpasses all his predecessors and his successors for a long time after, in both churches, in point of sound historical learning, acumen, and comprehensive grasp of the materials. *Histoire critique du V. T.* (Paris, 1678), Rotterdam, 1685, 4°; *Hist. critique du texte du N. T.*, ib. 1689, 4°; *Hist. critique des versions du N. T.*, ib. 1690, 4°; *Hist. critique des principaux commentateurs du N. T.*, ib. 1693, 4°; *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du N. T.*, Paris, 1695, 4°; *Disquisitiones criticæ*, Lond. 1684, 4°. Also, various controversial writings, which may be included as the fifth volume of the Rotterdam edition. The German edition by H. M. A. Cramer, with preface and notes by J. S. Semler, H. 1776 ff., 3 Pts. 8°, includes only the second and third of the above works. (Cf. also *Critique . . . des prolégomènes de M. du Pin par feu M. R. Simon*, Paris, 1730, 4 vols., in which, however, in Parts III. and IV., only the O. T. is considered.)

The works written against him, mostly by Protestants, and against the History of the O. T., are now forgotten. The most noted were by J. B. Carpov, of Leipzig, J. H. Mai, of Giessen, and J. Le Clerc, of Amsterdam (§ 340), the last in a wholly different spirit from the other two. See in general on him, H. Graf in the *Strassb. theol. Beiträge*, I. 158 ff.; A. Bernus, *R. Simon et son hist. cr. du V. T.*, Laus. 1869, and my article in Herzog's *Encycl.*; Hm. Goldhagen, *Introd. in S. S.*, Mog. 1765, 3 vols.

17. It was not until later, and even then hampered by

greater dogmatic hinderances, that the Protestants came into line. They allowed themselves to be guided to a great extent by polemical considerations against the defenders of tradition, without realizing the fact that what they laid down as historic truth was nothing but the last word of a tradition which had become obscure by lapse of time. Gradually, and taking on much of an extraneous nature, the science gained in extent under their hands, though even the manifold names given it show how uncertain and obscure was their conception of it. Moreover, it is not to be denied that there was more interest and zeal in historical investigation in the Reformed Church than in the Lutheran.

Lutherans: M. Walther, of Celle, *Officina biblica noviter adaptata*, L. 1636 and freq.; H. Kromayer, *Polymathia theol. s. apparatus philol.*, etc., L. 1669; A. Calovius, of Wittenberg († 1686), *Criticus sacer biblicus*, Vit. 1673; A. Pfeiffer, of Lübeck († 1698), *Critica sacra*, L. 1680 and freq.; C. Zeller, *Hist. S. S.*, Ulm, 1701; J. G. Pritz, of Frankfurt a M. († 1732), *Introductio in lectionem N. T.*, L. 1704 and freq., last ed. C. G. Hofmann, L. 1764; Fabricius, *Bibl. gr.*, III. 122 ff.; J. W. Rumpæus, of Greifswald, *Commentatio critica ad ll. N. T. in genere*, L. 1730 and 1757.

J. H. D. Moldenhawer, *Introd. in S. S.*, Reg. 1734; J. R. Rus, *Introd. in N. T.*, Jena, 1735, 2 vols.; J. G. Hagemann, *Hist. Nachricht von den Schriften des A. und N. T.*, Br. 1748; C. F. Börner, *Isagoge brevis ad S. S.*, 2d ed., L. 1763.

Reformed: A. Rivet (of Poitiers), at Leyden († 1651), *Isagoge ad S. S.*, Leyd. 1627; J. H. Hottinger, *Quæstiones theol. phil.*, Heidelb. 1659; *Thesaurus philol. s. Clavis S. S.*, Tig. 1649 and freq. (N. T.); J. Leusden, of Utrecht († 1699), *Philologus hebræus*, Traj. 1656 and freq.; *Philologus hebræo-mixtus*, ib. 1663 and freq.; *Philologus hebræo-græcus*, ib. 1670 and freq.; J. H. Heidegger, of Zürich († 1698), *Encheiridion biblicum ἱερομνημονικόν*, Tig. 1681 and freq.; *Exercitationes biblicæ*, Vol. I. ib. 1699; A. Blackwall, of Derby († 1730), *Autores sacri classici defensi s. critica s. N. T.* (1727), lat. ed., C. Wölle, L. 1736.

Incompleteness, lack of system, and uncritical treatment characterize all these and many other less widely known works, an intermingling of archaeological and dogmatic investigations the majority. Many are little else than lumber rooms crowded with unarranged oriental learning.

Of special excellence is the work of Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester († 1661), *Apparatus biblicus chronologico-topographico-philologicus*, a supplement to the London Polyglott. Printed separately, Tig. 1673, fol. [ed. Wrangham, 1828]; with preface by J. A. Dathe, L. 1777.

18. The learned works on the text of the New Testament which had been undertaken by many since the beginning of the preceding century, in spite of the prevailing scholasticism, gradually made the theological world more familiar with the critical method. The historical tendency which came into theology through the school of Semler soon broke down the last barrier against free investigation in the field of biblical criticism, and prepared the way for the new results which have since been obtained in all departments of this science, and

which finally changed the whole aspect of theology. This noteworthy period is best characterized by the Introduction to the New Testament of Johann David Michaelis, a work whose history may serve at once as that of critical science and of public opinion regarding it during a period of forty years.

Cf. in general for this period and its works, § 341 ff., § 408 ff., § 567 ff. On the O. T. these studies begin with L. Cappelle, of Saumur († 1658), *Critica sacra*, P. 1650, fol.; ed. Vogel and Scharfenberg, H. 1775 ff., 3 vols.

On the tendency and writings of J. S. Semler, of Halle († 1791), and their significance for the science, see especially §§ 342, 573.

J. D. Michaelis, of Göttingen († 1791), *Einleitung in die Göttlichen Schriften des N. T.*, Gött. 1750, 8°; 4th ed. 1788, 2 vols. 4°; translated into English, from the last ed., with additions, by H. Marsh, Lond. 1793 ff., 6 vols. and freq. (the additions retranslated into German by E. F. C. Rosenmüller, L. 1795 f., 2 vols. 4°); French by J. Chenevière, Gen. 1822, 4 vols. 8°.

E. Harwood, *A New Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the N. T.*, Lond. 1767-71, 2 vols. 8°; 2d ed. 1773.

H. C. A. Hänlein, of Erlangen († 1829), *Handb. der Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.*, Erl. 1794, 2 Pts. 2d ed. 1801-1809, 3 Pts.; idem, *Lehrbuch d. Einl.*, Erl. 1802.

During this period Introduction occupied itself chiefly with textual criticism, and sought its own honor as well as the good of the cause in the collection of various readings. Semler directed attention essentially to questions of the so-called higher criticism.

19. The principles for which Semler and his school had won the victory for the time have been carried out by most of the Protestant theologians since the beginning of the present century who have treated the history of the New Testament as a whole. Although applied directly to historic facts, these principles led to great diversity of judgment and of views upon particular points; partly because the facts themselves were still disputed, and partly because they were so manifold that it was impossible that they should always be rightly estimated by a criticism as yet in its infancy and often hesitating. Consequently the final and indisputable results won for science bear no relation to the pains expended.

Progress in the designated direction has up to the present time passed through three stages:—

At first the critical doubts and problems which had come to take the place of authoritative faith and traditional certainty were solved with a rash boldness by conjectures, often ingenious but often hasty. Yet even these conjectures, by the contradiction which they called out, brought the truth nearer. J. G. Eichhorn, of Jena and Göttingen († 1827), *Einleitung ins A. T.* (1780), 4th ed. 1823, 5 vols.; *in die Apok.* 1795; *ins N. Test.*, Pt. I., Gött. 1804, 2d ed. 1820; Pts. II., III., 1811, 1814; Pts. IV., V., 1827; J. E. C. Schmidt, of Giessen († 1831), *Hist. Krit. Einleitung ins N. T.*, G. 1804 and 1818, 2 Pts.; L. Bertholdt, of Erlangen († 1822), *Einl. in die sämtlichen kanonischen und apokryphischen Schriften des A. u. N. T.*, Erl. 1812-19, 6 Pts. 7 vols.; H. A. Schott, of Jena († 1835), *Isagoge historico-critica in libros N. T. sacros*, Jena, 1830. H. H. Cludius, *Ursichten des Christenthums*, 1808.

Later, critical acumen contented itself for the most part with giving free

utterance to the doubt which it had exalted into a principle, and making secure its title to it, without forestalling future investigations by an over-hasty positive decision. W. M. L. de Wette († 1849), of Berlin and Basle, *Lehrbuch der hist. krit. Einleitung in die Bibel A. und N. T.*, Pt. I., *Einkl. ins A. T.*, B. 1817; 7th ed. 1852; 8th ed. revised by E. Schrader, 1869 [E. tr. enlarged, by Theod. Parker, 2 vols. 8°, Boston, 1843]; Pt. II., *Einkl. ins N. T.*, 1826, 5th ed. 1848. [E. tr. by F. Frothingham, Boston, 1858; 6th ed. by Messner and Lünemann, 1860.] *Einleitung ins N. T.*, from Schleiermacher's († 1834) literary remains, edited by G. Wolde, B. 1845.

Finally, by a renewed and thorough investigation of the ancient ecclesiastical records, and a more accurate study of the religious conditions of the apostolic age, criticism has prepared the way for a formal reconstruction of the history of N. T. literature. C. A. Credner, of Giessen († 1857), *Einkl. in das N. T.*, Pt. I., Halle, 1836. Cf. § 23. Various monographs, to be cited below, by F. C. Baur, of Tübingen. (See also § 15.) A. Schweigler, also of Tübingen († 1857), *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tüb. 1846, 2 vols. It may be mentioned, however, that the last named, as will appear further on, have come to wholly different conclusions from the first, in part to such as might seem to cut away altogether the historical foundation of theology. Cf. also § 344. Ammon, *Leben Jesu*, Pt. I.

Cf. also the Art. *Biblische Einleitung*, by Geseuius, in the *Halle Encyclopedia*, as well as a series of other articles having reference to the Bible, in Vol. X.; also separately, L. 1823. As a collection of materials, C. G. Neudecker, *Lehrbuch der hist. krit. Einkl. ins N. T.*, L. 1840.

Considered as a complete, thorough, and judicious treatment of the material thus far accumulated by criticism, though wholly after the plan of the old method, notwithstanding a mistaken claim to the honor of a better, the foremost work is now the *Einleitung ins A. u. N. T.*, by F. Bleek, of Bonn († 1859), B. 1860, 1861, 2 vols. and freq. [4th ed. *A. T.*, by J. Wellhausen, 1878; 3d ed. *N. T.*, by W. Mangold, 1875; E. tr. O. T. from the 2d ed. (B. 1865), 2 vols. Lond. 1875; *N. T.*, T. & T. Clark, Edinb. 1869-70.] (For a summary, O. R. Hertwig, *Tabellen zur Einkl. ins A. u. N. T.*, B. 1849, 1856, and freq., 2 vols. 4° [4th ed. 1872].)

20. Meanwhile the reaction in favor of older forms and systems of belief which has begun to manifest itself during the last decades could not but make itself felt in this field as well. And this the more, since the return to former conceptions of the nature and authority of the Scriptures must lead to a preference for the traditional form and setting of them, and it was precisely upon these traditions that the attacks of criticism had been most bold. Hence the same investigations into this history are instituted to-day, after many separate preliminary labors, with almost the same means and methods, but with an essentially apologetic aim.

On the movement itself, cf. § 584 ff. J. F. Klenker, *Unterss. über Echtheit und Glaubwürdigkeit der Schr. des N. T.*, 1793 ff. 5 vols.; Conr. St. Matthies, of Greifswald, *Propädeutik der neutest. Theologie*, Greifsw. 1836.

W. Steiger, of Geneva († 1836), *Introduction générale aux livres du N. T.*, Gen. 1837. (An uncompleted course of lectures, edited by J. A. Bost.)

II. E. F. Guericke, of Halle, *Beiträge zur hist. krit. Einleitung ins N. T.*, Halle, 1828; idem, *Hist. krit. Einleitung ins N. T.*, L. 1843; 2d ed. *Gesamtgeschichte des N. T.*, 1854; 3d ed. *Neutestl. Isagogik*, 1868, a work professing to adhere to the historic method, which, however, only makes more evident

the inadequacy of the dogmatic by its traditional classification and its incompleteness, and betrays even in the changing title the uncertainty of the author's conception of the science.

For the O. T., H. A. C. Hävernicks, *Handbuch der hist. krit. Einl.*, Erl. 1836-1849, 4 vols. 2d ed. 1854 [E. T., T. & T. Clark, 1852]; C. F. Keil, *idem*, 1853 [E. T., T. & T. Clark, 1869].

How far this science has been developed outside of Germany in the one direction or the other will be further considered at the close of the history of the Canon (§ 347 f.). Our knowledge of the literature of the subject, especially the English and Dutch, is too meagre to venture to give a list of it here, where we are aiming at greater completeness.

21. The theologians of the Catholic Church were and are still to be found in an entirely similar position with respect to critical science. They also, for several generations past, at first in a spirit of freedom and harmony, afterward, doubtless, more strictly, to protect themselves from dangerous complications, have taken part in the scientific movement among Protestants, and in some cases the same part, whether demanded by their own investigations or by doubt and controversy. Only the relation in which, for them, science stands to the Church compels them for the most part to apply their learning and acumen rather in the service of the latter than of the former.

J. Jahn, of Vienna († 1816), *Einl. in die göttl. Bücher des A. T.* (1793), 2d ed. 1802 ff., 4 Pts.; also in Latin, 1814; A. Sandbichler, of Salzburg († 1820), *Einl. in die Bücher des N. T.*, 1817 ff., 2 vols.

J. L. Hug, of Freiburg († 1846), *Einl. in die Schriften des N. T.*, Stuttg. (1808), 3d ed. 1826, 2 Pts. [4th ed. 1847]; French by C. J. E. Cellierier († 1864), Gen. 1823 [E. tr. by Fosdick, with notes by Prof. Moses Stuart, Andover, 1836]; A. B. Feilmoser, of Tübingen († 1831), *Einl. in die Bücher des N. T.*, Insp. (1810), 2d ed. 1830; T. Lienhart, of Strassburg, *Analysis studii biblici*, Arg. 1814; J. B. Gerhauser, of Dillingen († 182-), *Bibl. Hermeneutik* (Kempten, 1829, 2 Pts.), Pt. I.; J. G. Herbst, of Tübingen († 1836), *Einl. in die h. Schr. des A. T.*; completed by B. Welte, Carlsr. 1840 ff., 4 Pts.; J. M. A. Scholz, of Bonn, *Einl. in die h. Schr. des A. u. N. T.*, Cologne, 1845 ff., 3 Pts. (uncompleted); J. B. Glaire, of Paris, *Introduction hist. et crit. aux livres de l'A. et du N. T.*, P. 1843, 2d ed. 6 vols.; D. B. Haneberg, of Munich (now Bishop of Speyer), *Einl. ins A. T.*, Rgb. 1845; *idem*, *Gesch. der Offenbarung als Einl. ins A. u. N. T.*, Rgb. (1850), 3d ed. 1863 [4th ed. 1876]; A. Maier, of Freiburg, *Einl. in die Schr. des N. T.*, Freib. 1852; F. X. Reithmayer, of Munich, *Einl. in die can. BB. des N. B.*, Reg. 1852; F. H. Rensch, of Bonn, *Einl. ins A. T.*, Freib. 1859 [4th ed. Freib. 1870]; G. J. B. Güntner, *Introd. in ss. N. T. libros hist. crit. et apologetica*, Prague, 1863; J. Langen, of Bonn, *Grundriss der Einl. ins N. T.* (1868), 2d ed. 1873. [F. Kaulen, *Einl. in d. heil. Schr. A. u. N. T.*, Freib. 1876; M. von Aberle, *Einl. in d. N. T.*, Freib. 1877.]

22. Notwithstanding all the changes which the critical history of the New Testament has undergone in modern times as to its contents, in form and extent it has remained very much the same since the time of Michaelis. All modern authors give it the name of Introduction to the New Testament, and divide it into general and special, only differing in the order of the two divisions.

Divisions which do not occur in all works : Authenticity, Inspiration, and Authority of the books of the N. T. ; the older lost Gospels, etc.

Diversity of plan, generally without consistency either in outline or detail ; the greatest irregularity in those which combine the O. and N. T.

Criticism of the former method by Schleiermacher, *Darstellung des theologischen Studiums* (1830) § 123 ; De Wette, *Einl.* § 1 ; Baur (§ 23) ; but they allow the traditional arrangement to stand, for the most part. Hupfeld, see above, § 15 ; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. 1 ff. ; J. G. Müller and H. A. Hahn in Herzog's *Encycl.*, III. 726.

It may be said without injustice that these "Introductions" thus far have been devoted essentially to criticising (earlier opinions) and criticism (of the text). The first may be a necessity, but it is not a method ; it hews the stone, but erects no building ; the second exalts unduly that which is comparatively less important, and confines to the study of the learned a science which is in the highest degree interesting and necessary to the Church. The most abstruse department of the subject (that of the versions), has been crippled most unjustifiably in this way. It is likewise very evident that the customary treatment has become so external, even with many opponents of the modern views, that the connection or even the compatibility of this science with theology might be questioned.

The most comprehensive and thorough summary of the modern labors in the field of the apostolic literature is that given by C. E. Scharling, in the *Verhandlungen der königl. dänisch. Gesellschaft*, 1857 f.

[A. Hilgenfeld, *Hist. krit. Einl. in das N. T.*, L. 1875 ; S. Davidson, *An Introd. to the Study of the N. T.*, 2 vols. Lond. 1868 ; Th. Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 13th ed. Lond. 1872 ; Jos. Angus, *Bible Handbook*, Lond. 1856, Phila. 1865 ; F. Godet, *Studies in the N. T.*, N. Y. 1877 ; C. E. Stowe, *History of the Books of the Bible*, Hartf. 1867 ; H. M. Harman, *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, N. Y., 1878 ; L. A. Sawyer, *Introduction to the N. T.*, N. Y. 1879.]

23. The form which we here give the science is a natural consequence of the historical point of view to which we adhere. Aside from the greater extent of the material, this history is distinguished from the ordinary Introductions in that here the facts are arranged immediately as results of a previous criticism, while elsewhere criticism adapts itself to the arrangement of the facts determined by custom. Our work is not intended as an introduction to something else, but as an independent portion of history, ennobled by the dignity of the subject matter, given coherence by a ruling idea, limited by its own aim, and complete, if not in knowledge and judgment, of which indeed none may boast of the highest degree, yet in the purpose to combine the manifold and inspire the dry and dead with life and motion.

The idea of such a treatment of the material is doubtless not new, yet the carrying out of it is contrary to the current method. The case is not affected by the fact that older writers (Simon) have given their books the title "*Histoire*," or that more recent ones (Credner) have received into their definition of the science the conception of a history ; still less by the naive assurance of those who agree with me (Guerike) that they have considered it, or (Bleek) that this was what they really meant from the first.

Weak attempts at such a treatment have been made for the O. T. by Spinoza in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670), ch. 8 ff.; by A. G. Wähler, *Antiqq. Ebraeor.* (1743), Pt. II.; by J. C. C. Nachtigal in his *Fragmenten über die Bildung der israel. Schriften*, in Henke's *Magazin*, Pt. II., IV. (1795), and in several other works on Hermeneutics (Bauer, Meyer, Pareau), and on Antiquities (Bellerman, Iken, Schacht); but especially by A. G. Hoffmann in Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.*, II. Pt. 3, pp. 337-364. The works of Haneberg (§ 21) are also upon a similar plan. Further: A. Hausrath, *Gesch. der alttestl. Literatur*, Hdlb. 1864; Jul. Fürst, *Gesch. der bibl. Literatur*, L. 1867 f. 2 vols.; M. Schultze, *Gesch. der althebr. Lit.*, Thorn, 1870; Th. Nöldeke, *Die alttestl. Literatur*, L. 1868; H. Zschokke, *Hist. s. antiqui testamenti*, Vind. 1872. Of more limited scope, E. Meier, *Gesch. der poet. Nationalliteratur der Hebräer*, 1856.

For the N. T. should be mentioned, beside several writings on the canon, to be cited later, Mill's *Prolegomena* to his edition of the N. T. (1707); Schröckh's *Kirchengesch.*, II. 182 ff., 282 ff.; J. G. C. Klotzsch, *Kritische Gesch. des N. T.*, Witt. 1795; C. A. Credner, *Das N. T. nach Zweck, Ursprung, Inhalt, für denkende Leser der Bibel*, Giessen, 1841, 2 Pts.; A. F. Grau, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des neutestl. Schriftthums*, Gütersl. 1871, 2 vols. A brief sketch is given by H. J. Holtzmann in his work *Judenthum und Christenthum im Zeitalter der apocr. und neutestl. Lit.*, 1867, p. 638 ff. In certain aspects the special works on the history of the apostolic church (§ 31) must also be mentioned here. Em. Zittel, *Die Entstehung der Bibel*, Carlsr. 1872, covers the entire Scriptures.

It is, therefore, wholly unnecessary to contend to-day about the priority of the discovery that the so-called Introduction should be a history. It is enough to realize this discovery in fact and in such a manner that the principle shall be carried through in its purity, and not, through the overpowering influence of the older method, be rather confused than vindicated.

When, however, from a different point of view, Baur (*Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, IV. 483) defines "Introduction" as the science of the criticism of the canon, and, notwithstanding his radical innovations with respect to the literary-historical facts, yet favors (1851, III. 307) a return to the old form and division into general and special Introduction, definitely excluding all the material hitherto neglected, we have only to say that his own numerous writings are the best proof that criticism is everywhere simply the preparatory work for history, not history itself; that a historical science, like criticism, approaches perfection only when it ventures to pass over from the form of investigation to that of statement; that the Bible had to do and has done in the world, and even in the school, something else wholly different from that which, in the first-mentioned article, he regards as alone of interest, and that this as well as that is and must be included in the history; and above all that so long as the debate is as to the conception and form of the science the particular views of a single critic on the special questions relating thereto cannot furnish an absolute standard.

The objections which H. Holtzmann (*Studien*, 1860, II. 410) has brought against the method here adopted rest mainly on the necessity of establishing a closer connection between our science and dogmatics. But this closer connection is precisely what we wish to avoid. Theories may gain in the light of history; history never when tied to a theory. Provided only the theology be true, history renders to it richly just what it ought to ask. For the rest we refer to our former prefaces and to Hupfeld's reply (*Studien*, 1861, I. 3 ff.). Cf. also my article *Bibel* in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*.

BOOK FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE.

24. Jesus had come not to destroy, but to fulfill. On both sides he came into conscious opposition to the leaders of his people and times. With the Pharisees Judaism had stiffened into a dead scholasticism, and the noble heritage of the prophets, the fear of God, moral power, and patriotism had degenerated into hypocrisy, casuistry, and political narrowness. The Hellenist either plunged into worldly affairs, or, trained by foreign lands into the philosopher, gave himself over to speculation, ingenious, but foreign to practical life, and evaporated the substance of the national traditions, concealing his inner apostasy from them by forced and artificial interpretation of the ancient records. The Essene shunned the world, surrounded himself with voluntary privations, and thought in ascetic austerity to atone for the misery of the time, fostering in quiet cheerfulness a precious possession, but also easily liable to every error of the understanding. The Sadducee, it is true, thought it no abomination to have dealings with foreigners, but this spirit of sociability was due not so much to freer and broader views as to religious indifference, moral torpor, and political self-interest. Finally, the best of them all, a man who sincerely desired the welfare of the people, and was really a prophet in the good old sense, even without the outward, perhaps not superfluous, title, the Baptist, had but a misty and ill-apprehended hope.

The views here briefly indicated are further developed in my article *Judenthum* in Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.* and in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, and especially in the first book of my *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, Strassb. 1852, 3d ed. 1864, 2 vols. [E. tr. by Annie Harwood, with preface and notes by R. W. Dale, 2 vols. 8°, Lond. 1872-74.] More detailed proof and consideration of the vast literature at this point would lead us too far from our proper subject. We simply refer to the works on the later Jewish history (Jost, Herzfeld, Grätz, Geiger [E. tr. by M. Mayer, N. Y. Thalmessinger & Co.]), the *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (Schneckenburger, Hausrath [E. tr. *A Hist. of the N. T. Times*, Lond. 1878]), the well-known historical works of Ewald [E. tr. *History of Israel*, 5 vols. 8°, Lond. Longmans, 1868-74], Weber-Holtzmann, etc.; Him-

pel, in *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1858, I. ; Jos. Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi*, Freib. 1866.

[Add to the above, for the general history of the Jewish people : F. Hitzig, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, L. 1869, 2 Pts. ; E. W. Hengstenberg, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes unter den A. B.*, B. 1870 f. 2 Pts., E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1871-72 ; J. Wellhausen, *Gesch. Israels*, B. 1878 ; Milman, *History of the Jews*, 3d ed. Lond. 1863, 3 vols. ; Stanley, *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, 3 vols. N. Y. 1876 ; E. H. Palmer, *Hist. of the Jewish Nation*, Lond. 1874. On the later Jewish history and the N. T. period : M. J. Raphall (a Jewish Rabbi), *Post-Biblical Hist. of the Jews, from the close of the O. T. till the destruction of the second temple in the year 70*, N. Y. 1866 ; especially, E. Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, L. 1874. On the Jewish sects, beside the appropriate chapters in the historical works above cited : Jost, *Gesch. des Judenthums u. seiner Sekten*, I. 196 ; Delitzsch, *Jesus u. Hillel* (against Geiger), Erl. 1866, 3d rev. ed. 1879 ; Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, I. 251 ff. (E. tr. Theol. Trans. Fund, Lond. 1876, I. 327 ff.) ; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'hist. et la géogr. de la Palest.*, P. 1867, I. 119 ff., 452 ff. ; Ginsburg, *The Essenes, their History and Doctrines*, Lond. 1864 ; also his *Arts. Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes*, in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.* ; Lightfoot, *Essenes*, in the App. to his *Comm. on the Colossians*.]

25. Jesus had been the pupil of no one of them. His teaching and work are to be regarded neither as the natural fruit of any one of the earlier tendencies, nor as a mere reaction against any one of them, nor yet, finally, as the product of eclectic study. That which was essential in what Jesus brought in was something new, and as such belonged neither to the outer world of that time nor to any past period of the Hebrew nationality. Too deeply initiated in the ways of Providence to renounce the Temple, and too clearly conscious of his higher mission simply to set out again upon an abandoned path, he allowed the form of the Old Testament as a positive religion to fall away, while he retained its substance as a revelation, and, without expressly abrogating the Old Covenant of the Law, established the New Covenant of grace and truth firmly and mightily enough to overcome the old and transform it throughout.

For this and the following sections we refer in general to the appropriate sections of the numerous modern works on the life of Jesus ; for an accurate summary of the literature especially to that of Hase, 5th ed. 1865.

[A very good bibliography of the Life of Christ is given in Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, rev. ed., Scribners, 1882, I. p. 95 ff.; substantially the same, but not so full or so recent, in Smith's *Dict. Bib.* under Art. *Jesus Christ*. Some of the more recent, particularly English, works are : J. Young, *The Christ of History*, Lond. and N. Y. 1855, 5th ed. 1868 ; C. J. Ellicott, *Hist. Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, Hulsean lect. for 1859, 5th ed. Lond. 1869 ; repub. Boston, 1862 ; S. J. Andrews, *The Life of our Lord*, N. Y. 1863, 4th ed. 1879 ; [J. R. Seeley] *Ecce Homo*, Lond. 1864 and freq. ; Wm. Hanna, *The Life of our Lord*, Edinb. 1868-69, 6 vols. ; F. W. Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, Lond. and N. Y. 1874 ; C. Geikie, *The Life and Words of Christ*, Lond. and N. Y. 1878 ; E. de Pressensé, *Jésus Christ, son temps, sa vie, son œuvre*, P. 1866 ; E. tr. by Annie Harwood, Lond. 7th ed. 1879 ; Dupanloup (Rom. Cath.), *Hist. de Notre Sauveur Jésus*

Christ, P. 1870 ; J. P. Lange, *Leben Jesu*, E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1872 ; Bh. Weiss, *Das Leben Jesu*, B. 1882, 2 vols. E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1883 ; J. Stalker, *Life of Christ*, Edinb. 1883 ; Edersheim, N. Y. 1884, 2 vols.]

Here compare in particular, P. C. Hilscher, *De studiis Jesu ἀρετῇ γραφῆς*, in *Fabrie., Cod. apocr.*, III. 424 ; Hess, *Lehre und Thaten Jesu*, II. 47 ff. ; Greiling, in *Henke's Mus.*, II. 297 ; Kuhn in the *Quartalschr.*, 1838, I. ; J. W. Rau, *De momentis quæ ad Jesum rerum div. cognitione imbuendum vim hab.*, Erl. 1796 ; C. C. Planck, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1847, II., III., IV. ; T. Keim, *Die menschliche Entwicklung Jesu*, Z. 1861 ; M. Nicolas, *Les antécédents du Christianisme* (in his *Essais d'hist. religieuse*, Paris, 1863) ; G. Längin, *Die sittl. Entwicklung Jesu*, Elbf. 1867.

A certain contact with Pharisaic views is found in Christianity in its respect for the Law, in its faith in Judaism as a germinal force for the development of mankind, and in the power of high and far-reaching hopes. On the other hand, it is wholly alien from it in its careful distinction between form and essence ; in its determination of the desert of the individual not by the outward aspect of the life, but by the inner intent of the heart ; and in its conscious tendency not to model the individual after the standard of the whole, but to allow the whole to grow out of the training of all the individual members.

[Cf. on the relation of Jesus to Pharisaism Schaff, *Hist. Chr. Ch.*, rev. ed. I. p. 159 ff. ; also Delitzsch, *Jesus u. Hillel*, 3d rev. ed. 1879 ; Ewald, *Hist. Isr.* ; Keim, E. tr. I. 329-353 ; Schürer, p. 456 ; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, II. 453 ff.]

Like Essenism it leads man back within himself, directs his attention away from the world, and teaches him self-denial and self-renunciation. But it allows no absolute value to external means of salvation, regards separation from society as neither necessary nor useful, and leads its disciples to a path of perfection that may be trod by all, not through theosophy and asceticism, but through a just appreciation of the nature of sin and of its remedy through the mystery of love and grace. (See especially Lüderwald in *Henke's Mag.*, IV. ; Bengel in *Flatt's Mag.*, VII. ; Heubner, in the App. to Reinhard, *Plan Jesu*, 5th ed. p. 477 ; Von Wegnern in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1842, II. ; Hilgenfeld in his *Zeitschrift* 1867, I. ; Alb. Réville in the *Strassb. Revue*, 3^{me} Série V. [Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 43 ff. ; Baur, *Das Christenthum der drei ersten Jahrh.*, E. tr. Lond. 1878].)

In Sadduceism, although in a slight degree externally comparable with it on account of its universalistic aim, no trace of the true purpose and aim of Christianity is to be found, not to speak of the exceedingly heterogeneous interests of this party.

Like the Alexandrian philosophy, and in greater degree, it gives occupation to the intellect, satisfies the thinker, and favors the higher flights of speculation, while never forgetting or despising the simple soul, whom it comes to meet most graciously, and saving the learned from the vagaries of a brilliant imagination, which would lure him away from the fruitful soil of moral and religious endeavor. Like it, it seeks, and knows there exists, underneath the ancient forms of knowledge and life, a deeper meaning. But it does not seek it in order to vindicate an inner apostasy, simply exercising its ingenuity upon sacred things, but it recognizes in these old forms prophetic symbols, whose meaning, intimately connected with fidelity to the religious truth contained in them, had been reserved for it to bring to light.

In all these respects Christianity was a spiritualizing of Judaism. And the fact that the latter had not the power to follow this impulse to its transformation is the most striking proof that the impulse was not simply born out of Judaism.

Cf. M. Baumgarten, *Doctrina J. C. de lege mosaica*, B. 1838 ; J. O. Wüst, *Essai sur la doctrine de J. C. concernant le Mosaïsme*, Str. 1839 ; Scherer,

Jésus Christ et le Judaïsme (in the *Strassb. Revue de Théologie*, I. 154 ff.); E. J. Meyer, *Verhältniss Jesu zum Gesetz*, Magd. 1853; Lechler in the *Studien*, 1854, IV. See also the works cited in § 66, and in general F. C. Baur, *Das Christenthum u. d. Kirche d. drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Tüb. 1853, p. 1 ff.; Ewald in his *Jahrb.*, 1859, p. 114; B. Weiss in the *Studien*, 1858, I.; L. Bastide, *J. C. vis à vis de la loi*, Str. 1854; A. Clabères, *Christianisme et Mosaïsme*, Toulouse, 1864.

A description of the state of things in the heathen world belongs to the introduction to the History of the Christian Church, and is not in place here. How far the apostolic literature came in contact with it will appear incidentally below.

26. He preached that the time was fulfilled, and that the kingdom for which all they of Israel who had not lost the faith of their fathers hoped was at hand. But a kingdom not of this world. And yet in another sense it was a kingdom of this world. For while he did not abandon the inspiring prospect of a glorious consummation in which the people of God, free from their trials and afflictions, should rejoice in the divine peace of their exaltation, but set forth this prospect in the familiar and loved imagery, he addressed himself earnestly to the demands of the present, called to repentance and faith, and through them to entrance through the door already open and for all; and, confident of his power, and rejoicing in the victory while yet amid the throes of a fearful conflict, saw in spirit the harvest already ripening on the fields where he had but just sown the seed. What he gave to the world that this seed might thrive was not a new code of ethics, nor a profound system of doctrine, a plaything for the learned and a riddle for the wise; it was the holy activity of his life and the free sacrifice of his death, an imperishable example for his disciples and an inexhaustible fountain of salvation for all mankind. By both he bound them to himself as their centre and goal, and promised to help them bear their burdens, both inward and outward, so far as they would cast them upon him, that they might go lightly and joyfully on their way.

To attempt to set forth the pith and essence of the preaching of Jesus, or to construct it in a thoroughly scientific manner, must always be a hazardous undertaking, aside from all unfavorable influence of dogmatic prepossessions, because of the personality of Jesus himself, to which (even speaking from the point of view of thought alone) no mortal attains; the theologian of the schools no more than the publican, or the fisherman by the Lake of Gennesaret. But also, and essentially, because his work, considered as a teaching, is apprehended one-sidedly and in every respect imperfectly. The biographies of Jesus leave very much to be desired upon this point, and special treatises are continually exposed to the charge of being dominated by the subjective views of their authors. (Reinhard, *Plan Jesu*, 1781, 5th ed. 1830 [E. tr. N. Y. 1831]; Tiefftrunk, *Einzig möglicher Zweck*, etc., 1789; Descotes, *Schutzschrift für Jesum von Nazareth*, 1797; Hess, *Lehren und Thaten Jesu*, Pt. I.; Sartorius, *Zweck Jesu, Abhandlungen*, p. 127 ff.; *Der Zweck Jesu geschichtlich und sachkundlich dargestellt*, L. 1816; J. A. H. Tittmann, *De*

J. C. rerum e consilio patris peragendarum vere sibi conscio, L. 1816; Böhme, *Rel. Jesu*, 1825 [2d ed. 1827]; E. C. J. Lützelberger, *Jesus, was er war und wollte*, Nbg. 1842; H. T. E. Schröder, *Die reine Lehre Jesu*, Lün. 1841; Schumann, *Christus*, I. 272; C. F. Schmid, *Theol. des N. T.*, 1853, Pt. I. [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1871]; Hase, *Streitschriften*, I., 61 ff.; De Wette and Von Coelln, *Bibl. Theol.*; C. Wittichen, *Beiträge zur bibl. Theologie*, Gött. 1865 ff. 3 vols.; A. Réville, *L'enseignement de J. C. comparé à celui de ses disciples*, 1870; M. Schwalb, *Christus und die Evv.*, Brem. 1872; Gust. Matthiis, *Essai d'une Christologie d'après les paroles de Jésus dans les évv. syn.*, Str. 1868; Baur, *Vorlesungen über neutestl. Theol.*, Hamb. 1864, p. 45 ff.; B. Weiss, *Lehrb. der bibl. Theol. N. T.*, 1868, p. 33 ff. [3d ed. 1880; E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1882 f.]; H. Weiss, *Grundzüge der Heilslehre Jesu bei den Synoptikern (Studien und Kritiken)*, 1869, I.).

With respect to the eschatological ideas we refer to the writings on the βασιλεία; F. F. Fleck, *De regno divino*, L. 1829; H. Heemskerk, *Notio τῆς βασιλείας ex mente Christi*, Amst. 1838, and, in addition to the general works on the life and doctrine of Jesus, to W. Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu nach den Synoptikern*, L. 1873. Cf. also the expositors on Matth. xxiv., and many others. The essay contained in the second book of the *Histoire de la Théol. Chrétienne* (§ 24) only makes claim to completeness and exhaustiveness in so far as it may have succeeded in developing that side of the gospel teaching which (together with Judaism) has become the source of Christian theology proper.

27. Jesus wrote nothing. As the object of his instruction was not a system but an inner life, he worked not so much by words, on the understanding, as by the power of his personal life, upon the spirit. The written word easily grows stiff and loses the warmth that goes with it when it comes directly from the lips to the ear. He would have his teaching work by free and living communication, and bear fruit by virtue of the spiritual power dwelling in it. So far as the written word was necessary, as it was according to the method of public teaching current at that time, Moses and the prophets were sufficient.

He who would work upon the people must be a master of speech. The writer labors for a class, and that the most fastidious and unsusceptible. If any one is not satisfied with the above simple hints as to the aim of Jesus and the means used by him, we might refer him to the state of Jewish literature and the character of instruction in general at that time. All other attempted solutions, political, psychological, and dogmatic, of this question, in itself not important, but which could not be passed over here at the outset without mention, must be considered failures.

Augustinus, *De consensu evv.*, I. 7; idem, *Retract.*, II. 16; Stosch, *De Canone N. T.*, p. 268 f.; J. G. Michaelis, *Exercit.*, p. 1 ff.; C. V. Hauff, *Briefe den Werth der schriftl. Relig. Urkunden betreffend* (Stuttg. 1809, 3 Pts.), Pt. I.; C. F. Böhme, *Buchstabe und Geist*, p. 87 ff.; Sartorius, *Causarum cur Chr. scripti nil reliquerit disquisitio*, L. 1815; J. H. Gieseke, *Warum hat Jesus nichts schriftl. hinterlassen?* Lüneb. 1822; J. C. F. Witting, *Ueber die Frage warum hat Jesus nichts schriftliches hinterlassen?* Br. 1822; Credner, *Das N. T. für denkende Leser*, I. 8; Füsslein, in Niemeyer's *Theolog. Zeitschrift*, II. 129 ff.; Baumgarten-Crusius, *Bib. Theol.*, p. 22. Fuller discussion in the comprehensive works on the life, plan, and work of Jesus; e. g., Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, p. 1 ff.

A literary critique on the method of instruction used by Jesus lies without the sphere of our history.

28. Nor did the choice which Jesus made among his disciples, in order to form a circle of intimate friends about his person, and the apostolic training which he gave them, arise from the desire or necessity of having his ideas and principles propagated by books. The last instructions which they received from his mouth at parting exclude all thought of a new sacred literature, and point to direct personal instruction as the sole means of carrying them out. Moreover, the sequel showed that the twelve who had stood nearest the person of their Master, with very few exceptions, which exceptions, even, have in our time become doubtful, were not called to become writers.

Even in ancient times this latter fact was recognized, and attempt made to explain it. See Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 24.

For his instruction on the office of teaching, cf. for example Mt. x. 5 ff.; xiii. 10 ff.; xvi. 15 ff.; Lk. x. 1-24, etc., and in general the accounts of the tours. Also Mt. xi. 25, and similar passages. Finally Mt. xxviii. 19, 20; Mk. xvi. 15 ff.; Lk. xxiv. 47-49.

G. J. Pauli, *De J. C. sapientia in eligendis et præparandis app.*, H. 1749; E. N. Bagge, *De sap. Christi in electione et institutione app.*, J. 1752; Hess, *App. to Leben Jesu*, I. 259; J. C. Volborth, *De J. C. discipulis per gradus ad dignitatem apostolicam evectis*, Gött. 1790; H. F. T. L. Ernesti, *De præclara Christi in Apostolis instituendis sapientia et prudentia*, Gött. 1834; F. Jaggi, *De la vocation des apôtres*, Str. 1835; Ed. Spach, *Essai sur la vie des apôtres avant la pentecôte*, Str. 1858; T. Fritz, *Hist. de l'éducation*, Str. 1842, p. 160 ff. Patristic Apologetics thought itself obliged to heighten the illiterateness of the Apostles to a monstrous extent *ad majorem dei gloriam*. Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom. II. in Joannem*. J. Lami, *De eruditione apostolorum*, Flor. 1738.

The number twelve of the Apostles may have had a symbolic significance (§ 194 and Mt. xix. 28), and maintained it chiefly in the theological consciousness of a certain circle (Acts i. 21; Rev. xxi. 14); in wider circles, and in the progress of religious and ecclesiastical development, the name might become the common possession of many. But the number thirteen, as that valid for the later canon of the Scriptures, is merely the product of a later theological theory.

29. When Jesus left the earth he already numbered hundreds of followers, who, though alike in their attachment to his person and their steadfast confidence in the fulfillment of his promises, had yet obtained very different ideas of the inner meaning of his words. Christian intelligence, even now continually imperfect, was unable at once to appropriate all the elements of the new life, or combined with it ideas and expectations which were entirely foreign to it. The latter was the more common. The more the Master had striven to build up the new without first tearing down the old, the more natural was it that many should be unable to distinguish the two, and that it should be precisely the more devout and simple spirits, whom he most sought, who least of all suspected the gulf which separated the old from the new. Their religion

was Jesus the Christ, a childlike trust and an enthusiastic hope.

The very large number of the disciples of Jesus is attested by 1 Cor. xv. 6, cf. Lk. vi. 17 ; viii. 2 f. ; x. 1. With the latter passage there were connected, in the ancient church, ideas such as appear to derogate in a measure from the theological prerogatives of the twelve : Theodorus Prodromus, *De LXX discipulis*, and Dav. Blondel (*de iisdem*), printed in Fabricius, *Vita Mosis*, p. 488 ff. Cf. Ittig, *Hist. sec. primi*, 471 ; E. F. Neubauer, *De missionariis Christi*, H. 1729 ; C. A. Heumann, *De LXX Christi legatis* (*Nova Syll.*, I. 120) ; C. Bertheau, *Die Berichte über die apostolischen Gehilfen und Gefährten*, Hmb. 1858.

The Gospel, to the first followers of Christ, was assuredly not a new religion, opposed to Judaism, but the necessary and welcome fulfillment of the old. They no more desired a new doctrine, in our sense of the word, than their other Jewish contemporaries, but a person, who should be the keystone of the old. Consequently Christianity was from the outset, long before the introduction of dogmatic speculation into the Church, a doctrine of Christ, although, it is true, in a peculiar and meagre sense. The simple dogma *ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός* (Acts ix. 22, cf. ii. 36 ; v. 42 ; viii. 4 f., 35 ; xi. 20 ; xiii. 32 f., etc.), which epitomized the whole early apostolic theology, only in the subject, not at all in the predicate, contained anything new, which would be exposed to controversy. But even the single fact of Jesus' death, which must inevitably have been a subject of reflection from the first, contained the potent germ of a proper gospel theology, which consequently could not become the exclusive possession of any one school. Cf. also §§ 52, 53. Only so far and so long as the Christian faith in the Messiah was a matter of eschatology, did it fail to distinguish itself from the Jewish.

30. So also the task of the Apostles, as they apprehended it, was to extend this trust and this hope into wider circles and to receive believers by baptism into the communion of the kingdom of God. This task certainly cannot have been difficult at first, since what they had to preach, the nearness of the kingdom and the condition of entrance into it, was already believed. The new element which they introduced was the proclamation of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, whom the rulers of the land had put to death, but who had gloriously risen, and would return to judge the living and the dead. This was the joyous message which they could confirm by their personal testimony. The account of the wonderful events which they had seen formed the foundation of their preaching ; the confirmation of it they found and pointed out in the ancient prophecies.

Task of the Apostles : Mt. x. 7 ; xxviii. 19 ; Lk. x. 9 ; xxiv. 47 ; cf. Acts i. 11. — Historical contents of their preaching : Acts i. 21 f. ; iv. 10 ; v. 30 ; x. 37, 40 ; xiii. 23, 30 ; 1 Cor. xv. 3 ff. Dogmatic contents (Mt. xvi. 16) : Acts ii. 36 (viii. 37) ; ix. 20 ; x. 42 ; Rom. i. 4. Ethical contents : Acts ii. 38 ; iii. 19 ; v. 31 ; cf. Mt. iv. 17. Prophetical contents : Acts iii. 20. Historical demonstration : Acts ii. 32 ; iii. 15 ; v. 32 ; x. 39 ; 1 Jn. i. 1 (2 Pet. i. 18). Theological demonstration (Lk. xxiv. 32) : Acts ii. 29-35 ; iii. 22 ; viii. 35 ; x. 43 ; xiii. 33 ; xviii. 28 ; xxviii. 23, etc. Cf. numerous passages in the Epistles, and in general § 37.

On the nearness of the kingdom see the citations in § 36.

J. G. Walch, *De apostolorum institutione catechetica* (Miscell. ss., p. 1 ff.); G. W. Rullmann, *De app. primariis rel. chr. doctoribus*, Rint. 1788; Tzschirner's *Geschichte der Apologetik*, p. 50 ff.; *Ueber den Einfluss des Todes Jesu auf die Lehrart der App.* (Henke's *N. Mag.*, VI. 505 ff.); A. L. G. Krehl, *De momento resurrectionis J. C. in institutione apostolica*, Mis. 1830; L. E. Rohr, *Sur la méthode suivie par les app. dans l'enseignement de l'évangile*, Str. 1833; F. Bordier, *Sur la prédication du Christianisme par les apôtres*, Gen. 1840; Jul. Faisse, *Caractéristique de la prédication apostolique*, Str. 1860.

31. They did not, however, begin the execution of their commission upon a very large scale. They remained in Jerusalem and the vicinity, in order to foster the germ implanted in their souls by Jesus, and abandoned their worldly occupations, in order to attempt henceforth, according to their Master's word, a more precious draught of fish. The earliest records of the disciples, now united into a community, so far as they have come down to us, represent them as awaiting, in devout enthusiasm, the events which were expected to take place; preparing themselves for them by prayer, by works of benevolence, and by the mutual practice of brotherly kindness in both spiritual and physical things; as in favor with the people; also as heirs of the miraculous power which had once exalted Jesus, but also, like him, hated by the hierarchy. There lay still dormant in this little circle, as it were in a new-born child, both all subsequent errors, and also the consciousness of a higher destiny and the feeling of a power which was to overcome the world, not by enduring and hoping alone, but also by progress.

See Acts i. 14; ii. 1, 42 ff.; iii. 1, 11; iv. 21; v. 12, etc.

Especially noteworthy is the different relation in which the disciples and their communities came to stand from the outset to the Pharisaic and Sadduceic parties. So long as no antilegalistic tendency discovered itself among them they found in the former a protector (Acts v. 34; cf. xxiii. 6 ff.), and only in the latter an opponent (Acts iv. 6; v. 17); this is very easily explained from the political principles of the two, inasmuch as they saw in the Christian movement the beginning of an anti-Roman one, which the Pharisees favored, but the Sadducees wished to suppress. It is not at all necessary to suppose "secret friends in the Sanhedrin," but just as little should the animus of that party be wholly misrepresented, in order merely to expose the Christian view to criticism as inadequate to explain the facts. That those in the community judged the facts differently from others does not prove that they are pure inventions. Criticism, as it speaks upon these matters through Baur (*Paulus*, 16 ff., 31 ff.), leaves the solution of them to the future, which may afford a deeper insight into the political positions of the Jewish parties. Cf. *Hist. de la théol. chrét.*, I. 71 ff., 267, 290 ff. (3d ed. 61 ff., 263, 286 ff.) [E. tr. 52 ff., 226, 245 ff.]

Cf. in general for the following sections (beside the larger works on Church History, as Schröckh, I., II.) Ph. J. Hartmann, *De rebus gestis Christianorum sub apostolis*, B. 1699; Tho. Ittig, *Historia seculi primi*, L. 1709; J. F. Buddeus, *De statu eccl. apost.*, Jena, 1720; idem, *Ecclesia apostolica*, 1729; J. L. Mosheim, *Institt. hist. chr. majores*, Sec. I., Helmst. 1739 [E. tr. Lond. Longmans, 1863, 3 vols.]; G. Benson, *History of the Planting*

of the Chr. Religion, Lond. 1756, 3 vols. ; J. A. Stark, *Geschichte d. Kirche d. ersten Jahrhundert*, B. 1779, 3 vols. ; G. F. Weber, *Delineatio eccl. ap.*, Arg. 1783 ; J. J. Hess, *Gesch. u. Schriften d. Ap. Jesu*, Z. 1788, 3 vols. and freq. [4th ed. 1820] ; C. F. Lücke, *De eccl. chr. apostolica*, Gött. 1813 ; G. J. Planck, *Gesch. des Chr. in d. Periode s. Einführung*, Gött. 1818, 2 vols. ; C. Wilhelmi, *Die Geschichten d. Ap. in Zusammenhang*, Heidelb. 1825 ; A. Neander, *Gesch. d. Pflanzung und Leitung d. chr. Kirche durch d. Ap.*, Hamb. 1832, 2 vols. and freq. [4th ed. rev. 1847 ; E. tr. Edinb. 1842 ; rev. ed. N. Y. 1865] ; G. V. Lechler, *Das Apostol. Zeitalter*, St. (1851) 1857 ; M. Baumgarten, *Ap. Geschichte*, H. 1852, 3 vols. [2d ed. 1859] ; H. W. J. Thiersch, *Die Kirche im ap. Zeitalter*, Frkf., 1852 [3d ed. 1879 ; E. tr. from 1st ed. Lond. 1852] ; J. P. Lange, *Das ap. Zeitalter*, Br. 1853, 2 vols. ; E. Renan, *Les Apôtres*, Paris, 1866 ; Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, Vols. VI., VII. ; cf. Hilgenfeld, *Das Urchristenthum und seine neuesten Bearbeitungen*, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1858, I., III. — Works such as Pfenninger's *Jüdische Briefe* (Parts 11, 12), Bahrdt's *Plan und Zweck Jesu* (Pts. 11, 12), Venturini, *Geschichte des Urchristenthums*, H. F. Delaunay, *Les actes des apôtres critique nouvelle*, S. 1865, as different from one another as from those above named, can only be cited as monuments of the aberrations of taste and science ; cf. § 575.

[Add Wm. Cave, *Primitive Christianity*, 4th ed. Lond. 1862 ; E. de Presensé, *Hist. des trois premiers siècles de l'église Chrét.*, P. 1858 ff., 4 vols. E. tr. *Early Years of Christianity*, by Annie Harwood-Holmden, Lond. and N. Y. 1870 ; new Lond. ed. 1879 ; Stanley, *Essays on the Apostolic Age*, Oxf. 1847, 3d ed. 1874 ; Schaff, *Apostolic Church*, N. Y. 1853 ; A. B. Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, Edinb. 1871, 2d ed. 1877 ; Fisher, *Beginnings of Christianity*, N. Y. 1877.]

On the chronology cf. § 58. It is possible to fix it approximately for a part of the life of Paul, but quite impossible for all beside.

The individual biographies of the Apostles (with the exception of that of Paul) have only been brought to anything like completeness and coherence by the use of untrustworthy traditions : J. Perionius, *De rebus gestis App.*, 1569 ; L. Capellus, *Hist. Apostolica*, Genf, 1634 and freq. (also in the *Critt. ss.*, Vol. VII.) ; W. Cave, *Lives of the Apostles*, Lond. 1675 [new ed. rev. by H. Cary, Oxf. 1840 ; repr. N. Y. 1857] ; A. Saldini, *Hist. Apostolica*, 1749 ; G. H. Rosenmüller, *Die Ap. Jesu*, 1821. — On the apocryphal legends cf. §§ 253 ff., 261 f., 267 f. — On Peter, §§ 55, 147 ff. — On John, § 225 f. — On James (two or three), §§ 56, 145. — On Matthew, § 186.

32. Especially did it not occur to this early church that it would have to take a peculiar position with reference to the synagogue, so that its relation to it would become different from that of other Israelites. The most intimate disciples of the Lord did not as yet know that fasts, sacrifices, and circumcision might cease without prejudice to salvation, even before he came again. They and their friends and companions held all the more steadfastly to the law as their Christian hopes were the more lively. The quiet hints at a separation between substance and form which the Master had so often given in deed and discourse, proverb and parable, they had not heeded. The freedom which he had prepared for them was not that of which they had so exact a conception, and the suspicious presentiment of his enemies had understood his saying of the tearing down and building up again of the Temple better than the willing short-sightedness of his disciples.

They retained the fasts and willingly undertook them, Acts x. 30 ; xiii. 2 f. They observed the law of clean and unclean animals for food, Acts x. 14. They prayed at the prescribed hours in the Temple, Acts ii. 46 ; iii. 1 ; v. 42 ; x. 9. They took upon themselves vows, Acts xviii. 18 ; xxi. 23. They observed the feast-days, Acts ii. 1 ; xx. 6, 16 (Rom. xiv. 5 ff. ; Col. ii. 16 ; Gal. iv. 10). They circumcised their children, Acts xvi. 3 (Gal. v. 2 ff. ; Phil. iii. 2 ff.). They were even especially distinguished as particularly zealous Jews, Acts ii. 47 ; v. 14 ; xxii. 12. They honored themselves with the title 'Ιουδαίου (Acts x. 28 ; cf. xxi. 39 ; xxii. 3), which they denied to those who were not strict in the faith, Rev. ii. 9 ; iii. 9. They were, in a word, εὐσεβεῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον (Acts xxii. 12 ; cf. xxi. 20, 24. *Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant*, Sulpic. Severus, II. 31), and therefore were still the twelve-tribed people (James i. 1), and this name could be used ideally and symbolically of the Church (Rev. vii. 5 ; cf. xii. 1 ; xxi. 12), just as the miraculously rescued ark of the covenant appears as their palladium, Rev. xi. 19. This fundamental coloring of the early Church may serve as an additional proof that Christianity did not grow out of Essenism.

In general : J. A. H. Tittmann, *Opusc.*, p. 43 ff. ; E. A. P. Mahn, *Distinguuntur tempora et notantur vice quibus App. Jesu doctrinam sensim melius perspexerint*, Gött. 1811, 4^o ; cf. § 54 ; C. F. Böhme, *Die Religion der App. J. C.*, 1829 ; G. C. R. Matthæi, *Der Religionsglaube der App. nach s. Inhalt, Ursprung und Werth*, Gött. 1826 f. 2 vols. (incomplete) ; cf. § 64 ff. See in particular the expositors on Jn. ii. 18 f. and Lardner, *Fides hist.*, I. 419 ; Börner, *Diss.*, p. 219 ; Henke and Cramer in Pott's *Syll.*, I. ; C. F. Fritzsche, *De sensu h. l.*, L. 1803 ; Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1833, II. ; Kling, *ibidem*, 1836, I. ; Hauff, *ibidem*, 1849, I.

33. The very words of the inscription which the Pharisees of the Sanhedrin would have had affixed to the cross, instead of that with which the heathen governor mocked their disappointed hopes, at last fell as an enkindling spark upon some riper spirits, who had not led modest, quiet lives within the confined horizon of the narrow scholastic tradition of the Jewish people, but had grown strong outside, amid the fresh breezes which came with the mingling of the nations and of their languages and civilizations. What to them of Jerusalem and Galilee was dark became to the Hellenists the central point of light in a far-reaching revelation, the lever by which they were to overthrow the mighty obstacles which still opposed the progress of the Gospel. History has not favored us with their names, save one, Stephen, who indeed paid for his perception of this truth with his life, but whose martyr's crown shines the more gloriously since, the first among many, it at once became the pledge of liberty won.

Men of Pharisaic training were the teachers of the first churches, and immediately adapted the Gospel to a system already completed. The foreigners, in general already prepared by their intercourse with the Greeks to grant access to new ideas, caught what was new and peculiar in it, and made that the central point of the whole.

What is said of Stephen, Acts vi. 11 ff., shows clearly that his preaching, as compared with that of the other disciples, brought forward a new element, a side of the Gospel hitherto unthought of. Yet it was not a new subjective conviction, but a deeper insight into the thought of Jesus, Mt. xxvi.

61, Mk. xiv. 58, which the others did not comprehend (see the preceding section), and which he was the first to understand, or at least to obtain a living conception of. The discourse which is placed in his mouth is explained from the purpose to demonstrate that revelation is not dependent upon its temporary form; that it consequently makes progress, and its present outward setting is of subordinate importance. Any over elaborate, typical interpretation is unnecessary. This of itself is sufficient to explain the sudden change of opinion of the Pharisaic party with regard to Christianity, and their subsequent very different position with respect to particular tendencies in the Church.

Did. de Bonvoust Beeckman, *De orat. Stephani apologetica*, Traj. 1820; F. C. Baur, *De or. Steph. consilio et protomartyris hujus in rei chr. primordiis momento*, Tüb. 1829 (cf. his *Paulus*, p. 41 ff.); J. P. Lange in the *Studien*, 1836, III.; C. F. Schmidt, *Examen critique du discours de St. Étienne*, Str. 1839; L. Wolff, *Der Bericht der ap. Gesch. über Steph. vertheidigt*, in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1847, III.; H. Thiersch, *De Steph. protomartyris oratione*, Marb. 1849; E. C. Rauch, in the *Studien*, 1857, II.; F. Nitzsch, *Beiträge zur Erkl. der Rede des St.*, in the *Studien*, 1860, III. 479; J. E. N. Bertrand, *Le discours d'Etienne*, Toulouse, 1863. See in general the expositors on Acts vi., vii., and *Histoire de la théol. chrét. au siècle ap.*, II. 3 (3d ed. I. 299) [E. tr. 256]; also the Art. *Stephanus* in Herzog's *Encycl.* [Dean Stanley, Art. *Stephen*, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*; Neander, *Planting and Training*; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ch. ii.]

34. His death was the beginning of the first severe persecution that the young church experienced, but also the immediate cause of the seed of the Gospel being sown in soil which had not been included in the design of the leaders, and which had not been prepared therefor by the strict faith of Judaism: first in Samaria, soon also among the Gentiles. Much, nay, even most, of what was done, went on without the immediate aid of the Apostles; but they rejoiced in it and gave their blessing to the work. With their horizon, their courage and zeal increased, and from the results they first learned to appreciate their own calling. The farther removed from Jerusalem, the freer became the preaching, and the more readily the Church opened her arms to every one who would hope for the coming of the Lord Jesus, and in this hope forsake the sinful life of the world. No stipulations were made as to farther conditions of faith and life; the possible conflicts had not yet come clearly into the minds of any. In Antioch the uncircumcised were baptized, while in Jerusalem the strict legalism of the Pharisees was still in force.

Acts viii. 1 ff. — It is further noteworthy that it was precisely those Apostles who were well known in the city who were not molested in the persecution; for this is the teaching of history, and not at all that they alone had the courage not to fly. Moreover, Stephen is buried not by Christians, but by *ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς* (Acts viii. 2), i. e. by pious non-Israelites.

The account of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii. 26 ff.) gives the impression that we have here already the baptism of a heathen proselyte, yet it is to be noted that the text does not expressly support this supposition. For this conception, see Baumgarten, *Apost. Gesch.*, I. 180 f. On the religious

tendency of the Jerusalem deacons in general, and Philip in particular, cf. the fancies of J. P. Lange in Herzog's *Encycl.*, Art. *Philippus*.

We shall refer to chs. x., xi., in § 57.

35. But Jerusalem was still the chief city of the Church. There was the mother church; and there doubtless, for the most part, dwelt the Apostles. It is only a pious fable of antiquity that makes them, immediately after the ascension of Christ, to wander to the four corners of the earth. Yet soon, and in part under their superintendence, either from there or from other central points, regular missions were begun and Christian missionaries penetrated the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, and perhaps the bordering foreign lands, pressing on farther and farther, step by step, in all directions. Usually they devoted themselves at first and often exclusively to the Jews, preached in the synagogues on portions of the Holy Scriptures whose exposition gave them opportunity to speak of Christ, and held more intimate conferences with those who were attentive and awakened, among whom heathen proselytes were not the last, until the impossibility of winning their companions in faith in great numbers, and the dissensions which arose in consequence, compelled them to separate from them and establish independent societies.

Antiquated notion of the division of the world among the Apostles by lot in order to a simultaneous general evangelization.

Most of the twelve doubtless never went beyond Palestine. At least we know the contrary of only two: of Peter from Gal. ii. 11, and of John certainly from tradition; possibly also from 1 Pet. v. 13, Rev. i. 9; but the value of these latter testimonies depends upon further investigations.

Missions: Acts viii. 4, 25; ix. 32; xiii. 4 ff.; xiv. 27. Later ones below.

On the dates of the first missionary tours see J. D. Michaelis, *Exercitt.*, p. 79; Rettig, in *Ephem. giss.*, III. 23; J. P. Beyekert, *De propag. eccl. chr. ætate app.*, Arg. 1774. [Schaff, *Hist. Chr. Ch.*, I. 217 ff., rev. ed.]

The correctness of this statement of the relation of the missions to the synagogue has been doubted with reference to Paul; but even were this doubt well founded (on the contrary see *Ἰουδαῖοι πρῶτον*, Rom. i. 16) it would only bear witness the more certainly to the method followed in the majority of cases.

36. This simple instrumentality of preaching was entirely sufficient; indeed, considering the circumstances of the time, it was *the* instrumentality best adapted to put into circulation the ideas which the heralds of the Christian faith wished to spread abroad in the world, and which, as to their historic or prophetic foundations, were by no means new to most of their first hearers. Instruction by written documents, not to speak of the probable degree of education of the first preachers of the Gospel, would have been for the time unnecessary, and in view of the customs and prejudices of the Jews entirely inconceivable. The belief in a speedy end of all things and the

near return of Christ to set up his kingdom confined the scope of their vision and their activity to their immediate surroundings and the needs of their contemporaries. Care for distant ages and for their instruction by means of a record handed down to them in writing was quite foreign from their thoughts. Under the social conditions then subsisting, distances in space would not have been overcome at all by writing. Finally, the expressions by which the instruction of the Apostles is designated in the records we possess of their history show that it was regarded as essentially oral, even at a time when they had begun to write.

These expressions are : *εὐαγγέλιον* (Rom. i. 1 ; 1 Cor. iv. 15, etc.), *κήρυγμα* (Tit. i. 3 ; 1 Cor. ii. 4), *παράδοσις* (2 Thess. ii. 15), *μαρτυρία* (Acts xxii. 18 ; Rev. i. 9, etc.), *ἄνοιξις τοῦ στόματος* (Eph. vi. 19), *λόγος* (Acts iv. 31 ; Ja. i. 22, etc.), *λόγος ἀκοῆς* (1 Thess. ii. 13 ; Hebr. iv. 2) ; *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* (Lk. ix. 6 ; Acts viii. 4, etc.), *κηρύσσειν* (Mt. x. 7 ; Acts xx. 25), *μαρτυρεῖν* (Acts xxiii. 11 ; 1 Cor. xv. 15, etc.), *λαλεῖν* (Acts xviii. 25 ; Tit. ii. 15, etc.), *παραδιδόναι* (Lk. i. 2 ; Acts xvi. 4) ; *εὐαγγελιστής* (2 Tim. iv. 5), *κήρυξ* (2 Tim. i. 11), *μάρτυς* (Acts i. 8, etc.) ; *ἀκοῦειν* (Eph. i. 13 ; 1 Jn. ii. 7, etc.), *ἀκροᾶσθαι* (Ja. i. 22), *δέχεσθαι* (2 Cor. xi. 4), *παραλαμβάνειν* (Phil. iv. 9 ; Col. ii. 6, etc.). — Cf. especially Rom. x. 14–17 ; 2 Tim. ii. 1, 2 ; Gal. iii. 2, 5 (*πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς*) ; Hebr. ii. 1–4. — *Γραφή* and *ἀναγινώσκειν* only used of the O. T. Cf. § 285.

Eusebius, *H. E.*, III. 24 : “Led by the Holy Spirit and endowed with miraculous power, they carried the knowledge of the kingdom of God into the whole world, σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν μικρὰν ποιούμενοι φροντίδα, ἅτε μείζονι ἐξυπηρετούμενοι διακονία. Paul, in word and thought the mightiest of the Apostles, οὐ πλέον τῶν βραχυτάτων ἐπιστολῶν γραφῇ παραδédωκε. The twelve, the seventy, and numerous others knew the history of Jesus, yet only Matthew and John wrote it, οὓς καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν κατέχει λόγος, etc.”

Whether the Apostles could write was a weighty question with the older apologetics. Cf. § 351. Any practice of the art by them was at all events without evidence. Matthew the publican had nothing to write, in accordance with the customs of his office. The learned Paul dictated, or, if he wrote himself, made *πηλίκια γράμματα* (Gal. vi. 11) !

Religious instruction, when given by Jews and to Jews, could only be exposition and application of the O. T. (cf. Mt. xix. 7 ; xxii. 24 ; Jn. vii. 42, 49 ; Acts xxviii. 23, etc.), and, in accordance with the custom of centuries, oral (Wahner, *Antiqq. hebr.*, I. 250 ; II. 710 ; Gfrörer, *Die Erziehung der Juden zur Zeit Jesu*, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1838, I. ; idem, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, Stuttgart. 1838, 2 Pts. ; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, B. 1832), and most safely and easily in agreement with tradition, the key to all truth (Lk. xi. 52).

The nearness of the end of the world : Mt. x. 23 ; xvi. 28 ; xxiv. 29, 34, and parallels ; Acts i. 6 ; 1 Cor. xv. 51 f. ; 1 Thess. iv. 15 ff. ; Phil. iv. 5 ; 1 Tim. vi. 14 ; 2 Tim. iii. 1 ; Heb. x. 25, 37 ; Ja. v. 8 ; 1 Pet. iv. 7 ; 1 Jn. ii. 18 ; Jude 18 ; Rev. i. 1 ff. ; xii. 12 ; xxii. 10, etc. Cf. also Jn. xxi. 22 f. See the expositors on these passages, also C. A. G. Keil, *Hist. dogm. de regno Messie*, L. 1781 ; T. C. Tychsen, *De notionibus de adventu Christi in N. T. obviis*, Gött. 1785 ; *De καὶρῷ ἐσχάτῳ in N. T.*, Gött. 1812 ; C. F. Böhme, in the *Analekten*, I. 2 ; idem, *De spe messiana ap.*, Halle, 1826 ; Flatt, *Opp.*, p. 287 ff. ; C. L. Weizel, in the *Würt. Studien*, IX. 2 ; X. 1 ; J. A. H. Ebrard, *De erronea opinione qua App. perhibentur existimasse cett.*, Erl. 1842 ; J. A. L. Hebart, *Die zweite sichtbare Zukunft Christi*, Erl. 1850 ; and many others.

For special remarks upon individual Apostles see below in the appropriate sections.

Cf. in general S. J. Baumgarten, *De ἀγγραμμοσίᾳ veterum Chr. civitatis doctorum*, Halle, 1752.

The views above advanced are not opposed by the place assigned by the Church to the apostolic writings, nor by the blessings which these writings have never ceased to spread abroad. These blessings do not result from the fact that the Apostles had our time in mind in the composition of their books, but from the fact that the things they wrote are valid for all times.

37. In the churches which the missionaries established they appointed presiding officers, after the model of the synagogues, who were entrusted with their management and religious instruction. There were already known, even in the apostolic Church, various designations of these presiding officers and various classes of officials, but we are no longer able, accurately, to distinguish them, nor do we know how far the administration was separated from the preaching and pastoral care. It is only certain that all who were called to teach imparted their instruction orally, and that entrance to the pulpit was forbidden to no Christian, not always even to the women. The custom of preaching, as the most essential and indispensable part of the service, has continued ever since.

Cf., in the first place, the general works on Christian Archæology; also J. C. Greiling, *Urverfassung der apost. Gemeinden*, Halb. 1819; Benson, *Paraphr. der Epp.*, II. 282 ff.; J. M. H. Ernesti, *Der Kirchenstaat der drei ersten Jahrh.*, N. 1830; R. Rothe, *Die Anfänge der chr. Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, Witt. 1837; A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der Altkath. Kirche*, B. 1850, and freq., p. 365 ff. [2d ed. rev. 1857]; P. L. G. Sengenès, *Du gouvernement de l'église pendant le siècle apostolique*, Mont. 1855; *Die Verfassung der Kirche im Jahrh. der Apostel*, by an (Old) Catholic historian, Nördl. 1873; W. E. Holl, *Essai sur les formes du culte au s. ap.*, Str. 1856.

[Add J. Bingham, *Antiqq. of the Chr. Ch.*, 1710-22, 10 vols. 8°, and freq., Bks. II.-IV.; J. B. Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, an excursus to his *Comm. on the Philippians*, Lond. 1868, 3d ed. 1873; also separately, N. Y. 1879 (without notes); Hatch, *Organization of the Early Chr. Churches*, Bampton Lectures for 1880; Stanley, *Chr. Institutions*, Lond. and N. Y. 1881, ch. x.; Arts. *Bishop, Priest*, in Smith's *Dict. Chr. Antiqq.*; Schaff, *Hist. Chr. Ch.*, I. ch. x., where also a very good bibliography of the subject may be found.]

Presiding officers and teachers are called in the N. T. (cf. Clem. to the Cor. I. 42): (1) ἐπίσκοποι or πρεσβύτεροι (κυβερνήσεις, 1 Cor. xii. 28). The limits of their office are not determinate, but the two cannot have been distinct. Acts xx. 17, 28; Tit. i. 5, 7. Unless all appearances are deceptive, to them, as shepherds (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 25; Eph. iv. 11), was intrusted especially the spiritual care of the flock, in distinction from the (2) δῆκονοι (Acts vi. 3 ff.; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8), to whom were committed chiefly the material interests of the church and the relief of the needy (ἀντιλήψεις, 1 Cor. xii. 28). Exclusively as teachers appear, (3) ἀπόστολοι, missionaries, not merely the twelve (Acts xiv. 4; Rom. xvi. 7). Yet it was early an exalted title, so that Paul could lay especial stress upon it (1 Cor. ix. 1, etc.). So also εὐαγγελισταί (Acts xxi. 8; Eph. iv. 11), helpers of the Apostles, catechists, perhaps also missionaries of a later calling, in distinction from the twelve, and, according to original Palestinian usage, certainly not transmitters of the Gospel history. (4) διδάσκαλοι and προφῆται,

the former discoursing more regularly from their acquired knowledge (γνώσει), the latter in moments of extraordinary excitement, by sudden inspiration (ἀποκαλύψει), 1 Cor. xii. 8, xiv. 6; both, however, in full possession of consciousness (νοῖ), in distinction from (5) γλώσσαις λαλοῦντες, who discoursed in a state of ecstasy (πνεύματι), unintelligibly because incoherently, perhaps even inarticulately, not, however, in foreign languages, and who consequently could really edify no one without subsequent rational interpretation (ἐρμηνεία).

On bishops and elders, see Buddeus, *Synt.*, p. 179; Walch, *Misc.*, p. 368; Gabler, *Opp.*, II. 321, 385; Kist, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, II. 2; Münter in the *Studien*, 1833, III.; B. Froster, *De initiis ministerii ecclesiastici*, Helsf. 1837; Baur, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1838, III.; Thönissen, *Abhandl.*, p. 37 ff.; Löhn in the *Sächs. Studien*, I. 129; III. 43; especially the *Abhandl.* of J. G. Schindler, 1770; W. A. Schwoßmann, 1780. [Schaff, *l. c.*, I. p. 491 ff.]

On prophets and prophetesses: Witsius, *Misc.*, I. 229; Mosheim, *Diss.*, II. 125; Benson, in Masch's *Abhandl.*, II. 343; J. P. Beyckert, *De prophetis N. T.*, Arg. 1764; Koppe, *Ad Ephes.*, p. 300; J. C. Pflücke, *De app. et proph.*, L. 1785; E. A. Frommann, *De hermeneuta vet. eccl.*, *Opp.*, p. 431; Altman, in *Tempe helv.*, V. 430; F. C. Athenstädt, *De mulieribus ad munus docendi cett.*, H. 1771. For further, see § 97.

38. As Christianity spread and churches became more numerous, the Apostles were obliged to take the greater care to preserve among them a fellowship of faith, love, and hope. The unity of the Church is one of the fundamental ideas of Christianity. The means of establishing it internally and of guarding it externally were the living intercourse and personal connection of the heads, and the tours of visitation of the founders of the churches and other teachers, for the purpose of confirming believers, reanimating their zeal, and insuring purity of doctrine. In the complete absence of any proper supreme church government or primacy, as well as of a written statement of doctrine or creed, the members of the great body could only be held together, next to the Spirit, by the word, supported by the authority of those who preached it.

The unity of the Church, willed and predicted by Jesus (Jn. x. 16), is laid down as a dogma by the Apostles (Eph. iv. 3 ff.), illustrated under figures of organic development (Eph. ii. 19; 1 Cor. xii. 12 ff.), brought into the life by practical exhortations (Col. iii. 14 ff.; 1 Jn. iv. 7, etc.), defended against danger (1 Cor. i. 10 ff.), and by the later history placed in the past as an ideal (Acts xv. 25).

Examples of visitation tours: Acts viii. 14; ix. 32; xi. 22; xiv. 21; xv. 25, 36, 41; xviii. 23; xx. 2, 17; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10, 12; 2 Cor. vii. 6 ff.; viii. 6; xii. 17; Phil. ii. 19 ff.; Col. iv. 10; 1 Thess. iii. 2; 2 Tim. iv. 10; Tit. iii. 12.

39. Thus the Christian Church was founded, extended, and made secure against all danger of destruction, both from within and without, before any Christian literature was in existence, or even a need of it in any way perceived, which must necessarily have called it forth, and that soon. The historical evidence, which was the foundation of the preaching, was as

yet given by eye-witnesses ; the prophetic evidence which was used to confirm the historical had passed over from those who knew how to discover it in the Scriptures of the Old Testament into the mouth of every believer, and, remote as they then were from all molestation by foreign elements, the two sufficed for the simple and devout spirit of the Church. So far as we can speak at all of a literature arising in the bosom of the Church during this period, it consisted of the discourses which were delivered orally by the Christian teachers.

It may be mentioned here in passing that according to others this period of the Christian history is occupied by a not inconsiderable number of writings, which, however, are more than problematical, and in part certainly to be remanded to the realm of fable. Among them belong : —

1. Brief accounts of particular portions of the gospel history, *e. g.*, memoirs of the priest Zacharias, journals of the tours of Jesus, etc., out of which, later, more complete books arose. Schleiermacher, *Ueber die Schriften des Lucas*, B. 1817 ; Kuinöl, *Comm. in ll. hist.*, II. 239 ff. 3d ed. Cf. below §§ 173 f., 182 ff.

2. Journals of John on the discourses and acts of Jesus. Bertholdt, *Verisimilia de origine ev. Joannis* (*Opp. theol.*, p. 1 ff.). Cf. his *Einl.*, III. 1302, and below, § 219.

3. The *Protevangelium*, or the syllabus of the Gospel history drawn up by the Apostles jointly. See § 183.

4. Alleged apostolic creeds and baptismal formulas, Acts viii. 37, among which, however, no one now reckons the so-called Apostle's Creed. See § 279.

5. Early Christian hymn-books (§ 162) ; see Storr and Flatt on Eph. iv. 8 ; v. 14 ; many expositors on 1 Tim. iii. 16 ; Münter, *Offenbarung Joh.*, p. 19.

The journals of Luke and others on particular missionary tours, assumed by some, would in any case be somewhat later : see Schott, *Isagoge*, p. 181 ; Bertholdt, *Einl.*, III. 1332 ; Kuinöl, *Prolegg. ad Acta*, and below, § 204.

Some also of the actually existing writings, especially several Gospels, have in former times, and the Epistle of James more recently, been placed in this period ; on which see the appropriate sections.

It may be said, in passing, that writings, as they are mentioned, for example, in Acts xviii. 27, and which certainly became more frequent with the gradual extension of the Church, do not come into consideration here, since only in a very loose sense could they be regarded as Christian literature.

40. These discourses were doubtless originally, like those of Jesus himself, delivered in the Hebrew language, or rather in the dialect which at that time was the vernacular of Palestine, generally called the Syro-Chaldaic. This dialect, having arisen from the mingling of the old classic speech of Canaan with Aramæan idioms, especially the Babylonian, or, more correctly speaking, from the fusion of the North-Shemitic provincial dialects into a common language, was little fitted to express all the new ideas which were soon developed by Christianity ; moreover, it was current within altogether too narrow geographical limits to answer the needs of a wide proclamation of the Gospel.

J. Reiske, *De lingua vernacula J. C.*, Jena, 1670 ; J. Kläden, *De lingua J. C. vernacula*, Vit. 1671 and freq. ; G. B. de Rossi, *Della lingua propria di Cristo*, Parm. 1772 ; H. F. Pfannkuche, *Ueber die palästin. Landessprache im Zeitalter Christi* (Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, VIII. 365) [E. tr. *Am. Bibl. Repos.*, 1831] ; H. C. M. Rettig, *De lingua quæ Jesu et App. tempore in Palæstino in usu fuit* (*Ephem. giss.*, III. 1). Cf. also Braun, *Selecta sacra*, p. 630 ; Pfeiffer, *Dubia vexata*, p. 881 ; Löschner, *De causis ling. hebr.*, p. 72 ; L. Fabricius, *Reliquiæ syracæ*, Vit. 1613 ; A. Varenus, *Lipsana syriaca in codd. græc. N. T.*, Rost. 1684 ; M. P. Cheitomæus, *Græco-barbara N. T.*, in Rheinferd, *Syntagma*, p. 317 ff. ; A. J. Binterim, *De lingua vernacula Judæorum Christi ætate* (in his work *De lingua originali N. T.*, Mog. 1822) ; E. Böhl, *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu*, Vienna, 1873, p. 4 ff.

[Add Is. Vossius, *De oraculis sibyllinis*, Oxf. 1680 ; R. Simon, *Hist. du Texte du N. T.*, Rotterd. 1689 ; Diodati, *De Christo Græce loquente*, 1767 ; repr. Lond. 1843 ; in reply to him, Ernesti, in *Neueste theol. Bibl.*, 1771, and De Rossi, above ; Hug, Credner, and Bleek, in their *Einll.* ; Alex. Roberts, *Discussions on the Gospels*, 2d ed. Lond. 1863 ; also, for this and the following sections, Art. *Language of the N. T.*, by Prof. James Hadley, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*]

Isolated expressions in the N. T. : ἡλ, ἡλ, λαμὰ σαβαχθαυ, Mt. xxvii. 46 and parallels ; ταλιθὰ κοῦμ, Mk. v. 41 ; μαρὰν ἀθά, 1 Cor. xvi. 22 ; βάρ (in many proper names) ; βοανεργές, Mk. iii. 17 ; ρακά, Mt. v. 22 ; κορβανὰς, Mk. vii. 11 ; βαββί, Mt. xxiii. 7, Jn. i. 38 ; βαββουνί, Jn. xx. 16 ; ἐφφαθά, Mk. vii. 34 ; μαμμωνᾶς, Lk. xvi. 9 ff. ; Mt. vi. 24 ; κηφᾶς, Jn. i. 42 ; τασιθά, Acts ix. 36 ; cf. Acts xxvi. 14 ; xxii. 2. (The pure Hebrew liturgical expressions, borrowed from the temple service : ἀμήν, ἀλληλούια, ὡσάννα, etc., do not belong here.)

On the dialects of this language (Mt. xxvi. 73 ; Mk. xiv. 70) and its relation to the Chaldee in Daniel and Ezra, in the Targums, in the Gemara, to the literary Syriac, and to the language of the so-called Jerusalem version of the Gospels (§ 429), see A. Pfeiffer, *De lingua Galilæa*, Vit. 1663 ; Binterim, *De lingua originali N. T.*, p. 163 ; Wichelhaus, *De versione Syriaca*, p. 1 ff. ; Aurivillius, *Dissert.*, p. 104 f. ; M. J. Landau, *Geist und Sprache der Hebräer nach dem zweiten Tempelbau*, Prague, 1822, etc. [Meyer, Wetstein, and others on Mt. xxvi. 73 ; Buxtorf, *Lexicon Talm.*, p. 435, 2417 ; Lightfoot, *Centur. Chorogr.*, p. 151 ff.]

41. Even though they did not leave their fatherland, the Apostles might yet have occasion to use the Greek language, which was then that of the polite world, and which had penetrated even into the interior of Palestine, and into all classes of society. Outside they could make themselves understood by its aid throughout almost the whole extent of the Roman Empire. The Jews in particular, who were dispersed in all the provinces, had spoken nothing else since Greek civilization had made its way into the Orient in the wake of the Macedonian conquest. The numerous proselytes who frequented the synagogues, and the family connections which existed between them and the Gentiles, or were easily formed even between the latter and the Jews themselves, had gradually brought about a mutual assimilation of the two races, which had at least gone as far as was possible under the existing religious relations.

For the history of the spread of Hellenism in the Orient, see J. G.

Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Hamb. 1836 ff., Pt. I., II., especially II. 587 ff.

Significance of the Macedonian conquest for the development of Judaism on its political, religious, and literary side. See, beside the general works on Jewish history (especially Jost), H. Prideaux, *The O. and N. T. connected in the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*, 8th ed. Lond. 1720, 3 vols.; J. Remond, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Judenthums von Cyrus bis auf den gänzlichen Untergang des Staats*, L. 1789; L. G. Pareau, *Hist. migrationum Hebræorum extra patriam*, Traj. 1817; G. Scheffer, *De ingenio et moribus Judæorum per Ptolemæorum sæcula*, Marb. 1829; C. Boon, *Hist. conditionis Judæorum religioſe et moralis inde ab exilio babylonico usque ad tempora Christi immutatae*, Gron. 1834; D. A. de Groot, *Hist. migrationum Hebræorum*, 1817.

Assimilation of the Jews and Gentiles: mixed marriages (between Gentiles and Jewesses, *partu sequente ventrem*; cf. Acts xvi. 1; xxiv. 24).—Numerous Gentile proselytes (of the Gate, *בְּרִי הַשַּׁעַר*, *i. e.*, uncircumcised) *προσήλυτοι*, Acts ii. 10; xiii. 43; *σεβόμενοι*, Acts xiii. 43, 50; xvi. 14; xvii. 4, 17. See in general my *Histoire de la Théol. Chrét.*, Vol. I. 98 ff. (3d ed. 90 ff.) [E. tr. 79 ff.] and the Art. *Hellenisten*, in Herzog's *Encycl.* [in Schaff-Herzog *Encycl.*, N. Y. 1883]. The proselyte mentioned in Acts vi. 5 was, however, certainly circumcised, *בְּרִי הַשַּׁעַר*. Cf. Hausrath, *Neutestl. Zeitgesch.*, II. 95 ff. [E. tr. Lond. 1878] [Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 67].

[See also the Arts. *Alexander the Great*, *Alexandria*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Hellenists*, *Dispersion*, all by Westcott, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*]

Spread of the Greek language in the Roman Empire, especially in the provinces of the former empire of the Seleucidæ. Greek synagogues in Jerusalem, Acts vi. 9; Jesus' conversation with the Gentile centurion, Mt. viii. 5; the Greek names of some Apostles (and of numerous other Palestinian Jews); the proceedings before Pilate without mention of an interpreter; Greeks among the first Christians, Acts vi. 1 ff., xi. 19, 20; conversion of Cornelius, Acts x.; the activity of Stephen, Acts vi. 9, and of Paul in Jerusalem, Acts ix. 29.

Cf. (H. E. G. Paulus) *De Judæis Palæstinensibus, Jesu etiam et Apostolis, non Aramæa dialecto sola, sed Græca quoque Aramaizante locutis*, Jena, 1803; Pts. I., II.; D. Diodati, *Christus Græce loquens*, Neap. 1767 (extreme and uncritical).

42. But the Greek language, as spoken and written at the time of the origin of Christianity, was no longer classic Greek. Formerly, existing in a great number of dialects, it had everywhere served the masters of language in the form which each state had stamped upon it, and to maintain the local usage in speaking and writing was one of the objects of the petty patriotism of the Greeks. The sword of Alexander, in suppressing this patriotism, also settled the battle of the dialects. In proportion as the old political relations were dissolved and fell into oblivion, there arose in place of the former manifold dialects, a common literary language, which was, it is true, most nearly related to the Attic, since in this dialect existed the greatest literary models, but which, nevertheless, was enriched with other elements, both forms and words, from the vast treasures of provincial dialects. In the time of Augustus

this so-called common dialect was completely and absolutely dominant in literature.

Ἡ κοινή. Cf. the Modern Greek grammars; but especially also the ancient grammarians and lexicographers, Phrynichus, Mæris, etc.

F. W. Sturz, *De dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina* (1786), L. 1808. He cites (p. 117 ff.) from Greek manuscripts of the Bible as local idioms many things that perhaps are only clerical errors. Wilke, *Clavis N. T.*, II. 590.

As examples we select such as also occur in the LXX or N. T., designating by an asterisk words not found in these, and therefore, perhaps, of later origin; some, especially of Nos. 1, 2, 3, were regarded as Greek provincialisms even earlier.

1. Changed Gender: ἡ λιμὸς*, τὸ σκότος, τὰ δέσμα*, ἡ λυχνία, τὸ ἔλεος, ἡ βάτος, etc.

2. New forms of words: αἴτημα for -σις; καύχησις, ἀπάντησις, for -μα; οἰκοδομή for both -μῆσις and -μημα; ὀπτασία, ἀποστασία, νουθεσία for ὕψις, etc.; ῥήσσω*, στήκω*, ἐκχύνω*, καθαρίζω, βασιλίσσα, ἀνάθεμα; diminutives for primitive words; καθὼς for καθό, etc.

3. New inflections: βούλει, ὕψει, etc., for βούλη; ἦτω for ἔστω; κάθου imper.; νοῖ* from νοῦς; 3d pers. plur. in -σαν; οἶδαμεν; ἤμην for ἦν; ἐγενήθην, ἀφέωμαι, ἀπολέσω, etc.

4. New significations: παιδεύω, to chastise; ἀποκριθῆναι, to answer; ἀναστροφή*, conduct; γάμος, a wedding feast; παρακαλεῖν*, to invite; εὐχαριστεῖν, to thank; ἀποτάσσεσθαι*, to take one's leave; συγκρίνειν*, to compare; χορτάζεσθαι, to be filled, satisfied; πτώμα, corpse; σχολή*, school; παρρησία, boldness, etc.

5. New words: οἰκοδεσπότης*, διασκοπίζω, ἀγαθουργεῖν*, ξενοδοχεῖον, πρῶνδς, ὁψιμδς, καθημερινδς*, ἀλισγεῖν, ἀποκαρδοκεῖν*, πάντοτε*, στρηνιάν*, εὐκαιρεῖν*, κατάλυμα, πεποίησις, δικαιοκρισία, νυχθήμερον*, αἰχμαλωτίζειν, etc.

[Cf. on this and the following sections, the N. T. Grammars of Winer and Buttmann, E. tr. by Prof. J. H. Thayer, Andover.]

43. The Greek language suffered still greater changes in the mouths of the people. The adventurous expeditions of Alexander and the policy of his successors attracted the masses into new regions and relations, especially into the coast cities of the Mediterranean. The population of all Greek states mingled upon foreign soil, where they of necessity came into closer relations; the less civilized conquerors from the north engrafted their peculiar forms of expression and the word-formations they had brought with them upon the more refined, imitative settlers from Hellas and the islands; or both together devised new ones, as usually happens as soon as the bond of a language is loosed by the breaking up of the hereditary nationality. The necessities of a living intercourse with the original inhabitants introduced everywhere foreign words, Egyptian here, Shemitic there; for the most part such as were in use in daily life, and were needed to render familiar the country and customs. Finally came the harsh rule of Rome, with its rigid governmental polity and police regulations, bringing with it names for things and ideas which were foreign alike to Greek freedom and Asiatic despotism.

Such words as are not found (perhaps by chance?) in the Greek authors may have belonged to the popular speech, *e. g.*: αἰματεκχυσία, Heb. ix. 22; ἐγκρατεύομαι, 1 Cor. ix. 25; φυλακίζω, Acts xxii. 19; ἀκροβυστία, ἀντίλυτρον, δολιγόπιστος, Mt. vi. 30; ἐπιλησμονή, ὄχλοποιέω, Acts xvii. 5; μוסχοποιέω, Acts vii. 41; βάπτισμα, ἐλλογεῖν, μεθοδεία, Eph. iv. 14; φρεναπάτης, Tit. i. 10, etc.

Foreign words, especially names of plants, animals, implements, and the like. J. G. Dahler, *Lexicon vocum peregrinarum*, in the London edition of the *Thesaurus ling. Græc.* of H. Stephens.

Egyptian: ἄχει, Gen. xli. 2; κόνδν, xlv. 4; κόσυμβος, Isa. iii. 18; ζῦθος, xix. 10; στίβι, Jer. iv. 30; πάπυρος, Job viii. 11; πυραμῖς, 1 Macc. xiii. 28; βάδιον, Jn. xii. 13. Jablonski, *Opp.*, Vol. I.; C. Scholz, in the *Repert.*, XIII.; M. Harkavy, in the *Journal asiat.*, 6^e Série, XV.

Persian: ἄγγαρος, Mt. v. 41; γάζα, Ezra vi. 1; μάγοι, παράδεισος, τιάρα. H. Reland, *Diss.*, II. 95 ff.; idem, *Oratio pro ling. Persica* (in the *Belgium Lit.*, I.).

Shemitic: ἁβράβων, βύσσος, ζιζάνιον, Mt. xiii. 25.

Roman: κήνοςος, Mt. xxii. 17; κουστωδία, Mt. xxvii. 65; λεγεών, Mt. xxvi. 53; σπεκουλάτωρ, Mk. vi. 27; κεντυρίων, Mk. xv. 39; φραγέλλιον, Jn. ii. 15; πραιτώριον, Jn. xviii. 28; κολωνία, Acts xvi. 12; μάκελλον, 1 Cor. x. 25; τίτλος, Jn. xix. 19; κοδράντης, Mt. v. 26; μίλιον, Mt. v. 41; σικάριος, Acts xxi. 38; σουδάριον and σιμικίνθιον, Acts xix. 12; λέντιον, Jn. xiii. 4; μεμβράνα, 2 Tim. iv. 13.

Also Latinisms: σεβαστός, Acts xxv. 21; ὕπατος, ἀνθύπατος, Acts xiii. 7; ἡγεμών, Mt. xxvii. 2, and freq.; στρατηγός, Acts xvi. 20; also: ἐργασίαν δοῦναι, *operam dare*, Lk. xii. 58; τὸ ἱκανὸν λαμβάνειν, *satis accipere*, Acts xvii. 9; συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, *e. g.* Mt. xxvii. 1; ἔχε με παρητημένον, *habe me excusatum*, Lk. xiv. 18, and many other disputed cases, on which see C. S. Georgi (and others), *De latinismis N. T. ll.*, III. Vit. 1733.

In general: O. Gualtperius, *Sylloge vocc. exotic. in N. T.* (in the *Critt. ss.*, IV., V.).

44. This was the Greek language which the Jews settled in foreign lands learned to understand and speak, or which met them in Palestine itself. They obtained it not from books or in schools, but orally, in daily intercourse, and they appropriated to themselves from it only such material as was adapted to the necessities of common life. Whatever lay without this sphere, especially religious ideas, and in general whatever was directly connected with the spirit of the Orient, was rather translated literally, with reference to thought, without regard to Greek usage, and the construction was sometimes modeled very strikingly after Shemitic syntax. The peculiar idiom which thus arose is usually called the Hellenistic Idiom, from the name by which the Greek-speaking Jews were designated in distinction from those who spoke Hebrew.

Διασπορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Jn. vii. 35; Ja. i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1; Ἑλληνισταί, Acts vi. 1.

Controversy over the name Hellenistic as applied to this idiom (introduced by J. J. Scaliger) between D. Heinsius (*Exercit. de ling. Hellenistica et Hellenistis*, Leyd. 1643) and C. Salmasius (*De ling. Hellenistica; Funus ling. Hellenisticae; Ossilegium ling. Hellenisticae*, ib. eod.); Croius, *De Hellenismi somnio* (*Obs.*, p. 221); H. Benzel, *De ling. Hellenistica*, Lund. 1734.

G. B. Winer, *Art. Hellenismus* in the *Halle Encycl.*; Ed. Reuss, in *Herzog's Encycl.*

The common Jewish German of to-day, with its numerous Hebraisms, both in vocabulary and in construction, may furnish a commentary upon the statements here made, notwithstanding essential differences.

45. In particular, a great influence was exerted upon the development of this peculiar idiom by the Greek version of the Scriptures, begun by Alexandrian Jews in the reign of the early Ptolemies, and finished at an unknown date, commonly called the version of the Seventy Interpreters. Undertaken at a time when the knowledge of Greek was as yet but very little advanced among the Jews, it bears a highly Hebraistic character, which, in consequence of the daily use of this work, must the more surely have been transmitted to and have impressed itself upon the religious speech of the Greek-speaking Jews, then just in process of development, as well as upon their more popular literary productions. The formation of this Jewish-Greek biblical speech was at once the first and most indispensable prerequisite for the wider and lasting efficiency of the religious truth laid down in the Old Testament and propagated in the schools.

The history of the Alexandrian Version of the Bible (LXX.) belongs to the history of the O. T. The other Greek versions, which may also be mentioned here in the linguistic point of view, as well as the so-called Apocrypha of the O. T., did not exert the same influence.

Philological studies upon the LXX. are as yet very incomplete. The lexicons (J. C. Kesler, Gotha, 1706; J. C. Biel, Hag. 1779 f., 3 vols., with supplement by J. B. Carpzov, in the *Mus. Hag.*, II.; C. F. Lösner, 1761; J. F. Schleusner, 1784 f.; J. F. Fischer, 1790; C. G. Bretschneider, 1805; J. G. Kreysing, 1809; E. G. A. Böckel, 1820; even the most recent, by J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus phil. crit. sive lexicon in LXX. et rell. interpretes græc. V. T.*, L. 1820, 5 vols.) are scarcely more than collections of vocables, and records of the numberless blunders into which translators have fallen. Cf. also A. Trommius, *Concordantiæ græcæ versionis vulgo dictæ LXX. interpretum celt.*, Amst. 1718, 2 vols. fol.; not to mention similar earlier works. — Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, L. 1841. [See Art. *Septuagint*, in Smith's *Dict.*]

On the Greek dialect of the translator of the Pentateuch and his Hebraisms see H. W. J. Thiersch, *De Pentat. versione Alex.*, Erl. 1841, p. 65–188.

It is possible to trace clearly in our biblical writings the growth of the Hellenistic idiom; with respect to the vocabulary it appears as a steady enrichment, the Apocrypha surpassing the canonical books of the O. T., the N. T. the Apocrypha, and later Aramaisms being added to the earlier Hebraisms; moreover, the control of the language, the style, improves in some respects very remarkably.

H. C. Millies, *De usu ll. V. T. apocr. in N. T. interpr.*, Hal. s. a.; C. T. Kuinöl, *Obss. in N. T. ex libris apocryphis*, L. 1794; M. J. H. Beckhaus, *Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch der Apocryphen des A. T. zur Erläuterung der neutestamentlichen Schreibart*, Dortm. 1808; C. A. Wahl, *Clavis ll. V. T. apocr.*, L. 1853.

Incomparably nearer to the correct usage of the national Greek (the κοινή) were the Hellenistic profane writers: cf. J. B. Ott, *Excerpta ex Fl. Josepho ad illus. N. T.*, Leyd. 1741; J. T. Krebs, *Obss. in N. T. e Flav. Josepho*, L. 1755; C. F. Lösner, *Obss. in N. T. e Philone*, L. 1777; A. F. Kühn,

Spicil. obss. ex Philone, Pfort. 1785; E. G. Grinfield, *Scholia hellenistica in N. T. e Philone et Josepho, PP. apostolicis . . . nec non ll. apocryphis de prompta*, Lond. 1848, 2 vols.

46. Most of the Christian missionaries, even in the apostolic period, were Hellenists by birth; the language which they spoke must therefore have had the peculiarities of the Jewish-Greek idiom, as already stated. Hence it consisted, no doubt, as to its fundamental part, of Greek words, almost without exception, as the Jews had received them in their intercourse with the Greeks dwelling in the Orient; it resembled most, in construction and expression, the Alexandrian idiom. Moreover, it was just as unmistakable in a Shemitic, particularly an Aramæan, dress, through a literal rendering of the thought conceived in Oriental form. But beside this there came into the speech of these members of the new society a special Christian element, the result of the efforts of the mind aroused by the Gospel to give to the existing insufficient linguistic material a form suited to the new ideas and views. The more profoundly and fully these ideas were apprehended, the more infelicitous became the relation between a word and its signification; the more evident did it become that a true understanding could be obtained only by living intercourse with the initiated and by inner experience.

J. L. Blessig, *Præsidia interpr. N. T. ex auctoribus græc.*, Arg. 1778; H. Plank, *De vera natura et indole orationis græc. N. T.*, Gött. 1810; also Winer's *Gramm.* § 47, and especially the Introduction; D. E. F. Böckel, *De Hebraïsmis N. T.*, L. 1840; A. T. Hartmann, *Linguist. Einl. in die Bibel*, p. 375 ff.; Wilke, *Clavis N. T.*, Appendix; J. G. Richter, *De vitiiis lexicorum græc. in philolog. s. non inferendis*, L. 1751; Gh. v. Zezschwitz, *Profangrācität und biblischer Sprachgeist*, L. 1859; J. Bröchner, *Idea lexicographiæ N. T.*, Havn. 1832.

We need here give examples only of the Oriental elements, since in the foregoing sections selections have been made, particularly from the *N. T.*, to illustrate the element of the *κοινή*. We designate by an asterisk what is not found in the *LXX*.

Hebraisms: (1.) Hebrew technical and theological terms, of which even in the *LXX* there are an extraordinary number; e. g., βάτος, κάδος, κόρος (Lk. xvi. 6, 7), etc., μεσσίας* (Jn. i. 42), σατανᾶς, γέεννα*, σάββατον, χερουβιμ (Heb. ix. 5), μάννα (Jn. vi. 31, etc.), πάσχα, σίκερα (Lk. i. 15), σαβαώθ (Ja. v. 4), etc.

(2.) Greek words with Hebrew meaning: χριστός, σὰρξ man, ῥῆμα thing, matter, εἰρήνη prosperity, σπέρμα posterity, δικαιοσύνη virtue, alms, ἀνίστημι to raise up, δαιμόνιον devil, μάταιος vain, σπλάγχνα* love, pity, σκάνδαλον stumbling-block, ἀνάθεμα a thing accursed, ὁδός* sect, περιπατεῖν to deport one's self, ἀνάγκη distress, νόμος, προφῆται, νομικός*, ἔθνη, συναγωγή, βασιλεία, κοιμᾶσθαι to die, κοινός unclean, etc.

(3.) Greek words in purely Hebrew phrases: ἔσθω φαγεῖν to dine, ζητεῖν ψυχὴν to seek the life of, κάρπος ὁσφύος or κοιλίας child, πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν to respect the person of, διώκειν ἀγάπην to follow after love, ἀνιστάναι σπέρμα to beget children, καρδία εὐθεία uprightness, κάρπον ποιεῖν, πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα*, πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω, τὸ ἐσχάτον τῶν ἡμερῶν, etc.

(4.) New words derived from the Hebrew : *σπλαγχνίζεσθαι**, *προσωποληπτειν**, *σκανδαλίζειν*, *ἀναθεματίζειν*, *ἐνωτίζεσθαι*, etc.

(5.) Hebrew metaphors : *ποτήριον* lot, *γλώσσα* people, *στόμα* *μαχαίρας* edge, *χεῖλος* *τῆς θαλάττης* coast, *γινώσκειν*, Mat. i. 25.

(6.) Hebrew constructions : *πᾶς οὐ* no one, *εἶναι εἰς* to become, *εἰ* in denial, *οὐδὲ* of the property, *ἅγια ἁγίων*, etc., for the superlative, *ἀπὸ προσώπου* from, before, *εἰς ἀπάντησιν* to meet, *καὶ ἔσται* *καὶ* for the future, genitive instead of adjective (*κριτὴς ἀδικίας*), *καὶ* for other particles, lack of participial constructions and of indirect discourse, the infinitive absolute with the finite verb, Hebrew use of prepositions.

The following are Aramaisms : *γεέσθαι* *θανάτου*, *ἀφιέναι* *ἁμαρτίας*, *σάββατον* a week, *σὰρξ* *καὶ αἷμα* man, *δύναμις* miracle, *δέειν*, *λύειν* to permit, to forbid, *αἰὼν οὗτος*, *αἰὼν μέλλων*, *αἰῶνες* worlds (Heb. i. 2); expressions belonging to Jewish theology: *διδάσκαλος*, *ἀντίχριστος*, *δαιμονιζόμενος*, and the like; proverbs, Mt. xix. 24; 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

Purely Christian expressions : *πίστις*, *χάρις*, *ἔργα*, *δικαιοῦσθαι*, *οἰκοδομή*, *ἀπόστολος*, *εὐαγγέλιον*, *σῶζειν*, *ἅγιοι*, *ἐκκλησία*, *μυστήριον*, *ἐκλέγεσθαι*, *ἔνωθεν* *γεννᾶσθαι*, *ἀπολύτρωσις*, *πνευματικός*, *πρόθεσις*, *συνεγείρεσθαι*, etc., and their derivatives and compounds.

Finally also many words occurring in the N. T., but not in profane writers, used in a religious and moral sense, may have been coined by the Apostles themselves : *ἀφιλάγαθος*, *ἀντιμισθία*, *ἐνδυναμοῦν*, *ἐτεροδιδασκαλία*, *ἄλλοτρισεπίσκοπος*, *παρὰπικράνω*, etc.

47. The union of these different elements, which has been denied, without sufficient reason, or misunderstood, by some philologists and by very many, especially Lutheran, theologians, during the last two centuries, forms what we call the New Testament Idiom. It did not therefore arise out of a crude mixture of languages, but it presents itself to us as the first step in the process by which the light that arose in the East was to overcome and penetrate the civilization of the West. For the rest, this idiom, not having had a fixed form impressed upon it by a literature or a school, was nearer to or farther from (classic) Greek purity according to the degree of literary culture of the persons who made use of it.

The history of the controversy between the Hebraists and the Purists, which was prolonged in its day partly from lack of philological knowledge, partly from dogmatic prejudice, is given by Morus, *Acroases super herm. N. T.*, ed. Eichstädt (1797, 2 vols.), I. 216 ff.; more briefly by Planck, *Einkl. in die Theol.*, II. 42 ff.; Winer, *Grammar*, p. 14 ff. [E. tr. p. 12 ff.]; De Wette, *Einkl.*, § 3; T. F. Stange, *Geschichte der hellen. Sprache des N. T.*, in his *Symmiakt.*, Part II.; H. C. A. Eichstädt, *Sententiarum de dictione N. T. brevis census*, Jena, 1845; cf. also J. Leusden, *De dialectis N. T.* (from his *Philologus h. gr.*), ed. Fischer, L. 1754; C. Wolle, *An N. T. sit auctor classicus*, L. 1733; J. D. Feller, *Fata styli N. T.*, Witt. 1739; A. J. Mennander, *Conspectus controversiæ de hebr. N. T.*, Abo, 1788. [Meyer, *Gesch. d. Schrifterkl.*, III. 342 ff.]

The most noted champions of the classicism of the N. T. were S. Pfochen (1629), B. Stolberg (1685), and C. S. Georgi (1732); among their opponents, J. Junge (1637), edited by Geffken, 1863, Th. Gataker (1648), and J. Vorst (1658, new edition 1778, with supplement by J. F. Fischer, 1791 ff.) were prominent. Intermediate judgments, in the sense that the Hebraisms were to be regarded as the noblest ornaments of the style, had already been ren-

dered by Beza (1565) and H. Stephens (1576) in their editions of the N. T., and since by many others. From the time of Ernesti (§ 572) the correct view has gradually gained ground. Cf. the foregoing section, and R. Simon, *Histoire du texte du N. T.*, ch. xxvi ff.; Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, III. 224. [Other literature in Winer's Grammar.]

Many briefer writings belonging here are collected in *Dissertationum phil. theol. de stylo N. T. syntagma collegit Jac. Rhenferd*, Leov. 1701, 4°; *Syntagma diss. de stylo N. T. græco*, coll. Taco Haio v. d. Honert, Amst. 1703, 4°; and we need not make further mention of single works.

Lexicons to the N. T.: L. Lutz, Bas. 1640; G. Pasor, L. 1658; J. C. Suicer, Tig. 1659; J. Leusden, Amst. 1699; Ed. Leigh, ed. 5, Gotha, 1706; C. Wolfburg, Flensb. 1717; C. Stock, Jen. 1725; P. Mintert, Frankf. 1728; J. C. Schwarz, L. 1736; C. Schöttgen, L. 1746, ed. J. T. Krebs, 1765, ed. G. L. Spohn, 1790 [Halle, 1819]; J. Simonis, H. 1766; C. F. Bahrtdt, B. 1786; E. Oertel, Gött. 1799; J. F. Schleusner, L. 1792, ed. 4, 1819, 2 vols.; J. Parkhurst, Lond., ed. 7, 1817. Cf. in general J. F. Fischer, *De vitis lexicorum N. T.*, L. 1791, and Schleusner's literary notice after his preface. C. A. Wahl, *Clavis N. T. philologica*, L. 1822, 2 vols., and freq.; C. G. Bretschneider, *Lexicon manuale in N. T.*, L. 1824, 2 vols., and freq.; C. G. Wilke, *Clavis N. T. philologica*, Dresd. 1840, 2 vols.; newly revised by C. L. W. Grimm, 1868 [also 1877-79]; S. C. Schirlitz, *Gr. deutsches Wörterb. zum N. T.*, 3d ed., L. 1868. [E. F. Dalmer, *Lexicon breve gr. lat. N. T.*, Goth. 1859; *Analytic Gr. Lex. to the N. T.*, Lond. 1868; E. A. Sophocles, *A Greek Lex. of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Boston, 1870; E. Robinson, *Greek and Eng. Lex. to the N. T.*, N. Y. 1878; cf. W. Grimm, *Krit. geschichtl. Uebersicht der N. T. Verballexica seit der Reform.*, in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1875, III. 479 ff.]

X. Buteleji, *Concordantie græc. N. T.*, Bas. 1546; E. Schmid, *Novi test. græci τὰς αἰώνων al. concordantie* (Vit. 1638, fol.), ed. C. H. Bruder, L. 1842, 4°; Ed. Zeller, *Vergl. Uebersicht über den Wörtlervorrath der N. T. Schriftsteller*, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1843, III.; J. A. H. Tittmann, *De synonymis N. T.*, L. 1829 f., 2 vols.; Wilke also gives a list of synonyms, l. c., II. 595; R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the N. T.*, Lond. 1865 [9th ed. 1880]. — Hm. Cremer, *Bibl. theol. Wörterb. der neutestl. Gräcität*, Gotha, 1866 [2d ed. 1872, E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1878]. [O. Schmoller, *Handconcordanz zum gr. N. T.*, Stuttg. 1868; *Englishman's Greek Conc. of the N. T.*, N. Y. 1879; C. F. Hudson, *Crit. Gk. and Eng. Concordance*, Boston, 1875 (very valuable).]

Grammars (S. Glass, 1623 and freq.; C. Wyss, Tig. 1650; G. Pasor, Gron. 1655; C. Stock, Jena, 1737; Matthies, *Propädeutik*, p. 100 ff.; P. H. Haab, Tüb. 1815; J. C. W. Alt, L. 1829); G. B. Winer, *Grammatik des neutest. Sprachidioms* (1822), L. 7th ed., by Lünemann, 1867 [E. tr. by Thayer, Andover, 1877], beside a great number of lesser writings by the same author upon particular points; S. C. Schirlitz, *Grundzüge der neutestl. Gräcität*, Giess. 1861; *Kürzere Grammatik*, Elb. 1863; *Glossar der Verbalformen*, Erf. 1862; J. A. H. Tittmann, *De Scriptorum N. T. diligentia gramm. recte æstimanda*, L. 1813. [A. Buttman, *Gramm. des N. T. Sprachgebrauchs*, B. 1859; E. tr. by J. H. Thayer, Andover, 1878; C. H. Lipsius, *Grammat. Unterss. über d. bibl. Gräcität*, ed. R. A. Lipsius, L. 1863.]

Linguistic peculiarities of particular authors: C. G. Gersdorf, *Beiträge zur Sprachcharakteristik der Schriftsteller des N. T.*, L. 1816, Pt. I.; J. D. Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Petrus, Judas und Jacobus*, L. 1802; des *Johannes*, 1803; des *Marcus*, in Keil and Tzschirner's *Analekten*, II. 2, 3; *Glossarium in Lucam*, 1830; G. P. C. Kaiser, *De (Mth., Mk., Jn., Paul, Peter), gramm. culpa negligentie liberanda*, Erl. 1843 ff., 7 programmes; C. L. Bauer, *Philologia thucydideo-paulina*, H. 1773; B. A. Lasonder, *De l. paulinæ idiomate*, Traj. 1866; G. B. Winer, *De solæcismis quæ Apocalypsi inesse dicuntur*, in his *Ezeget. Studien*, 1827, p. 144. Cf. the

modern interpreters and critics upon the Pastoral Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, and the Acts of the Apostles. [Wilke, *Die N. T. Rhetorik ; ein Seitenstück zur Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, L. 1843.]

There is, however, even down to the present day, peculiar difficulty with the grammar of the N. T. idiom on account of the uncertainty of the text, which varies surprisingly precisely in forms of inflection and the like, and exhibits phenomena wholly unique. Especially in editions prepared from particular manuscripts, as Lachmann's (§ 415), there are found a great many forms which at the best may be provincialisms (perhaps oftener yet blunders and further signs of the carelessness of the copyists), with respect to which it is still highly uncertain whether they reach back to the Apostles. These are collected in the preface of Göschen's edition. The latest editors seem to give altogether too much weight to these forms (§ 417).

The N. T. idiom is found again in sundry apocryphal writings, but to very small extent, except in so far as it is exhibited in the theological vocabulary, in patristic literature ; vid. J. C. Suicer, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e patribus græcis*, Amst. 1682, 2 vols. fol.

48. It is indeed true that Christianity proceeded from Judah and Jerusalem, but since its spirit was not destined to allow it to shut itself up within the walls of the synagogue, it must provide for itself another language than the decaying one of its native soil. The intellectual ascendancy of Greece and, in consequence, of Hellenism, over the old Judaism, the greater extent of the field of labor open to the Greek-speaking missionaries, the early downfall of the Jewish capital, and finally the anti-Jewish complexion of Christian preaching among a considerable and widely extended party in the church, — all these circumstances combined to displace the central point of the new society, and to remove it, so far as the higher development of its intellectual life was concerned, from the land of its origin. *Christian Literature must be Greek.*

Hypothesis of an Aramaic original for many writings of the N. T., Bertholdt, *Einl.*, I. 148 ; J. A. Bolten, *Die neutest. Briefe*, Altona, 1800, 2 vols. — Playfully demolished by Griesbach in Augusti's *N. Bl.*, I. 3.

49. Since the Greek language was sufficient for the needs of the missionaries in all places, except where the people spoke some Aramæan dialect, it is unnecessary to suppose that the Gospel was anywhere preached, during the apostolic age, in another language, — a supposition, moreover, which could not be supported by any demonstrated facts. Even preaching in Latin has no probability in its favor, and what the ancient writers say of interpreters, who are said to have accompanied the Apostles on their journeys, is doubtless pure assumption.

Even the Roman church probably consisted in great part of Jewish Christians and consequently of Hellenists ; cf. § 106. The names mentioned in Rom. xvi., assuming that they are actually to be looked for at Rome (§ 111), are almost without exception Greek. Paul wrote to the Romans in Greek ; so also Ignatius, and from there many in the subsequent period.

Thus is at once set aside the hypothesis of Latin originals of all the N. T. books, except perhaps Matthew and the Epistle to Philemon (Harduin, *Comm. in libros N. T.*, Hag. 1741; against him S. J. Baumgarten, *Vindiciae textus græc. N. T.*, Hal. 1742; C. H. Lange, *Vindiciae*, etc., Lüb. 1745; also: M. Molkenbuhr, *Sacr. Scr. N. T. quo idiome originaliter edita fuerit*, Paderborn, 1821), or at least of Mark (the subscription in the ancient Syriac version. Baronius, *Annal. ad an. 45*, and many Catholic writers); cf. § 351, and in general A. J. Binterim, *De ling. originali N. T. non latina*, Düss. 1820; continuation of the same, Mog. 1822.

Likewise the assumption of a Coptic original of Mark (Wahl's *Magazin für orient. u. bibl. Literat.* 1790, III. 8).

The character of a *ἐρμηνευτής* or *interpretes*, which is frequently ascribed to certain followers of the Apostles (Euseb. *H. E.*, iii. 39; v. 8; vi. 25; Jerome, *Ad Hedib.*, ch. xi., *De viris ill.*, ch. viii.; Tertull., *Adv. Marcion.*, iv. 5; Iren. *Adv. hæc.*, iii. 10, etc.) is understood by most, and doubtless quite correctly, of an actual interpreter, according to the ancient and biblical usage, and the choice of it shows that the conception of the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* as a miraculous speaking in foreign tongues is not the ancient conception. It may be added that later, especially when this conception had come in, by the interpreter was understood a servant of the word of subordinate rank and especially an editor of apostolic discourses. The tradition itself, however, is certainly older than this signification. (Against Fritzsche, *Proleg. ad Marc.*, p. 26.)

50. Now these apostolic discourses, a succession of which begins with the first Pentecost after the death of Jesus, were, it is entirely certain, delivered impromptu, and it is alike improbable that they were reduced to writing afterward by the speakers themselves or by their hearers upon the spot. It is therefore possible for us to form an estimate of them only in proportion to our knowledge of the contents of the apostolic preaching in general, and by taking into account the mighty influence which they must have had upon the minds of the hearers to the founding of new societies. Therefore, although some of them, but only in the form of abstracts, have been incorporated by a later historian into his account, this redaction we by no means regard, as otherwise it must be, as the oldest relic of Christian literature. We regard it rather as the work of the author of the Acts, a view which finds its sufficient confirmation in the character of the discourses themselves, as well as in their relation to the aim of the narrative.

For details see below, § 204. The question as to the way in which the apostolic discourses were transmitted to Luke has been discussed specially by the expositors on Acts vii. Strict accuracy in their text is maintained by all the ancients; among the moderns by, for example, Schott, *Isag.*, p. 184; Seyler, in the *Heidel. Studien*, 1832, I.; Stier, *Die Reden der Apostel*, L. 1829, 2 Pts. (who even finds homiletical arrangement in them according to the rules of modern pulpit oratory) and many others. An intermediate position is held by Tholuck in the *Theol. Studien*, 1839, II., and *Vermischte Schriften*, II. 325 ff. Weiss, in the Supplement to the *Berl. Zeitschrift*, Oct. 1854, and in his *Petr. Lehrbegriff* (§ 147), maintains an early commission to writing of the discourses of Peter, implying their strict authenticity. For our view, Eichhorn, *Einl.*, II. 37 ff.; Heinrichs, *Proleg. ad Acta*, p. 34 ff.;

Mayerhoff, *Petrinische Schriften*, p. 218 ff. and others. More rigorous still Baur (*Der Ap. Paulus*, Introd.) and his school.

51. Among the numerous speakers whose task it was, in the early days of the Church, to establish and give shape to the arrangements for Christian instruction and edification, many of whom, from their activity in missionary work, were known in wide circles, tradition gives the names of but very few. And even among these there is scarcely one with respect to whose characteristics anything certain can be said, or any well-founded conjecture made. Yet we have now come, in the progress of time, to the point where differing tendencies were beginning gradually to define themselves more sharply, and where those persons who were preëminent through intellectual power, or who had been exalted by circumstances, had become firmly fixed and definite enough in their ideas, views, and forms of statement to stamp their individuality upon those about them, and to mark out independently the sphere of their activity. We cannot, therefore, refrain from examining more closely the respective positions of these men and their followers.

Our scanty knowledge of the persons within the pale of the early churches is owing, in part, to the wholly special aim of the book of the Acts (§§ 208, 210), which designedly introduces only two principal figures (Paul and Peter) together with two subordinate ones (Stephen and James), and makes all these speak and act almost exclusively with reference to a single fundamental question; and in part to the habit of Paul, while expressing all due friendliness and gratitude, nay, even all proper praise, not to touch upon the characteristics of his helpers in detail, in consequence of which custom they remain quite too much in the background for us. Finally, perhaps the question might properly be asked whether, taking into account the simplicity of the instruction and its methods, and the sphere whence the Gospel obtained its followers, so very much eminent talent or so very many strongly marked personalities could have been found or developed. Our present concern is not with characters in general and social relations, as they must of necessity form and mould the age and its tendency, but with an intellectual development to which the first impulse had but just been given.

52. The apostolic preaching had at first naturally been directed to those who, as the heirs of the ancient promises, were best prepared to understand it, and therefore could most easily be induced to accept it. Since the sole condition of the invitation at first was faith in the speedy fulfillment of those promises, and the conviction that the crucified and risen One, of whose name and deeds the land was still full, was to bring about this fulfillment, the number of the believers must have increased all the more rapidly as the sad condition of the people and the growing confusion of social affairs caused the souls of the devout to long ever more intensely for help from above. The great number of those who were baptized hastily

and without prolonged instruction, of whom we have account, is therefore nothing strange, but causes us at once to suspect that the majority, who had only to a slight extent or not at all enjoyed the quickening intercourse with the Master, were, with their imperfect religious views, a heavy drawback to the development of the early Church in the knowledge of the more profound gospel truths.

It has hitherto been far too little considered that at the time of Jesus' death his disciples were already hundreds in number (§ 29) ; as to the number of those soon after gained (Acts ii. 41, 47 ; iv. 4 ; xxi. 20, etc.), it is of less importance to the history to elucidate this matter critically than to recognize the fact that, bearing in mind the relation between the preaching of that day and popular feeling, the rapid increase is conceivable, and that in any case the mass of believers might easily increase beyond the power of the older disciples of Jesus, who had themselves as yet not attained to the highest grade of Christian knowledge. At least their advantage in having enjoyed the immediate instruction of Jesus was balanced by the greater scholastic cultivation of others (Acts vi. 7 ; xv. 5), and by the tenacity of methodically studied views. The book of the Acts gives expression to this fact now and then in the most *naïve* manner : Acts xi. 3 ; xxi. 20 f.

53. In general, the nucleus of the first church consisted of plain, honest men from that portion of the people who had been schooled in the beliefs of the Pharisees, who gladly accepted the condition imposed for participation in the kingdom, moral purity, and in whose minds it is self-evident that this purity was to be strictly of the law. We cannot expect of them a preliminary scientific investigation of particular points of faith. Yet the more simple the doctrine which they accepted, the more natural was it that their meditation should be directed to the person of Him in whom alone their hopes were centred. And here was found, even in the bosom of the church, room for all the conceptions which had already won adherents outside, in the schools of the Jewish Rabbis. The intensity and impatience of the hope as yet overcame merely theological necessities. In practical life, however, many inclined to stricter morality believed that they could not do too much in order not to fail of salvation, and took in the literal sense, though intended to be understood spiritually, many a saying of the Master which had come to their ears.

Christianity was actually, at this stage, what it was considered, a Jewish *αἵρεσις*, called from its founder the sect of the Nazarenes (Acts xxiv. 5 ; xxviii. 22), and more nearly related to Pharisaism than to the other sects both as regards theology (Acts xxiii. 6 ff.) and legal observance (Acts xxi. 20 ff.). There is, however, an important distinction between Pharisees, as trained partisans, and Pharisaic people, *i. e.*, people instructed in traditional institutions and precepts. Cf. § 32.

As among the Jews themselves, so also among the Christians, there prevailed different conceptions of the person of the Messiah, which had not been defined and as yet distinguished by scientific discussion, nor had the judgment

of the Church been passed upon them. On the one side, his Davidic descent, his natural development (Lk. ii. 40, 52), the impartation of the Spirit at the baptism (cf. Acts x. 38), his call as the servant of God (Acts iii. 13, 26 ; iv. 27, etc. ; Nitzsch in the *Studien*, 1828, II. ; cf. especially Acts ii. 22, 30, 36 ; iii. 22 ; vii. 37 ; x. 38), and the history of the Temptation ; on the other, his supernatural generation, his preëxistence (Rev. iii. 14), and in general, in the latter book, the evident coördination of him with God in attributes and dignity (Rev. i. 8, 17 ; iii. 1 ; v. 6), stood unreconciled with one another. Mt. x. i. 1, 16 ; cf. Lk. iii. 23, *ὡς ἐνομίζετο*. With the Jews, therefore, it was not so much the nature of his person as the question *εἰ παθὴρ ὁ Χριστός* (Acts xxvi. 23) that was to be polemically set forth.

Ethics at this stage of Christian development has a legal basis. The Christian is a *ποιητὴς νόμου* (Ja. iv. 11 ; cf. § 56). In the exhortations to repentance in the Acts (ii. 38 ; iii. 19 ; v. 31, etc.) there is no mystic element of faith, which is rather replaced by a more or less strict asceticism, which is sometimes the ordinary Jewish (Acts xxi. 23 ff. ; 1 Tim. v. 23 ; Rom. xiv. 2 ff.), but sometimes reminds one of Essene principles (Rev. xiv. 4 ; Acts ii. 44 ; cf. also 1 Cor. vii. 5, 37 ; perhaps Acts xxi. 9).

On the actual or apparent narrowness of the early Christians in their understanding of the doctrine of Jesus, see J. G. Töllner, *Theol. Unterss.*, I. 241 ; J. A. H. Tittmann, *De discrimine discipl. Christi et app.*, L. 1805 ; D. v. Heyst, *De Judæo-christianismo*, Leyd. 1825 ; C. J. Tiebe, in *Euphron*, 1827, IV. ; the Arts. *Petriner* by Dietrich, and *Judenchristen* by Stier, in the *Halle Encycl.* ; Lutterbeck, *Neutest. Lehrbuch*, II. 79 ff. From an older point of view, J. B. Cartwright, *The Church of St. James*, Lond. 1842.

On the connection between Essenism and Ebionitism, Gieseler, in *Stäudlin's Archiv*, IV. 279 ; Credner, in *Winer's Theol. Zeitschrift*, I. 211 ; F. C. Baur, *De Ebionitarum origine ab Essæis repetenda*, Tüb. 1831 ; Schliemann's *Clementinen*, p. 362 ff. For the closest connection of Ebionitism with primitive Christianity, amounting to identification of the two, see Baur in various writings (§ 98) ; C. C. Planck, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1843, I. ; C. R. Köstlin, *ibid.*, 1850, II. Against them Guericke (§ 344), Böttger, and Dietlein. M. J. Gaufres, *L'Ébionitisme et l'église primitive*, Toul. 1850. [Neander, *Hist. Chr. Ch.*, I. 341 ff. ; Schaff, *Hist. Apost. Ch.*, 649 ff. ; Stanley, *Essays on the Apost. Age*, Oxf. 1874 ; Lightfoot, in *Comm. on Coloss.*]

I have attempted a systematic sketch of the Jewish-Christian view of religion in the *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. 277-383 (3d ed. 401-489) [E. tr. pp. 345-424]. On the Messianic expectations of the Jews in particular see F. Lücke, *Einl. in die Offenbarung Joh.*, Bonn, 1832 ; Hilgenfeld, *Die jüdische Apologetik in ihrer gesch. Entwicklung*, Jena, 1857 ; J. Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi*, Freib. 1866 ; T. Colani, *Jésus Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps*, Str. 1864 ; H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Messias-Idee zur Zeit Jesu*, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1867, III., etc. The older work of L. Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum*, etc., 1811, is uncritical and antiquated. Texts : Daniel, Sybils, Psalmi Salomonis, Enoch, Ezra, Assumptio Mosis, etc.

54. Amid such surroundings, and certainly as much limited on the one hand as encouraged on the other by the great multitude, the Apostles could but slowly struggle up to that clearer apprehension of the truth to which they were to be led by the Spirit which had been promised them. That which before, when they stood together in the familiar circle about the Master, they had not been able to bear, would even now have produced little fruit, had they already been in full possession of it,

since the far greater circle which surrounded them was able to bear even less. Bold with the word, steadfast in confession, joyful in suffering and death, they did full justice to their call to feed the Lord's flock. That the Church came into being, and did not break up again, was, under the guidance of God, their work and their glory. That it was reserved for others to lead it nearer its goal should not detract from the praise which is due them. There were divers gifts and offices, but the same Lord for all and over all.

The conventional notion, supported by the dogmatic system of the Church, is that on the day of Pentecost the twelve (and only they) were suddenly raised above all error, and endued with all the power of the Spirit. This idea is opposed to the apostolic in many respects. The impartation of the Spirit, according to the latter view, is something to be repeated upon each particular occasion (Acts i. 2; ii. 4; iv. 8, 31; ix. 17; xiii. 9), comes to every Christian alike (ii. 38; x. 45; xi. 15; xv. 8), is designed not so much to enlighten the understanding as to give strength for action, and is for the most part manifest externally by extraordinary excitement of the emotions (speaking with tongues, Acts ii. 4, 13; viii. 15 f.; x. 44 ff.; xix. 2 ff.). — True, intellectual enlightenment is also referred to the influence of God, but it is not something perfected at the outset, and the apostolic theology has advanced far more profound views upon the subject than the later.

For the literature, cf. §§ 32, 53.

55. Simon Peter, the inspired spokesman of the twelve in the critical birth-hour of the Church which Jesus had said he would build upon him, as the rock, nobly justified this promise, from the time when he received the consecration of the Spirit, wherever danger roused his courage. A man of deeds and of devotion, not of independent thought, attentive to and thankful for all better instruction, he had not sufficient force of character to impress himself where the spiritual immaturity of the multitude opposed an overwhelming dead-weight to his dawning perception, and wearied though it did not subdue his zeal. Whether from fear of men, love of ease, or lack of earnestness of conviction, his course of action did not always agree with the principles which he had openly avowed, and amid the dissensions and wrangling which soon prevailed between divergent sects, it was difficult for him to avoid assuming a controversial attitude. The position which he had not won by ambition, but which the confidence of the Lord had bestowed upon him, he maintained undaunted against the opponents of the Church, but not without vacillation and compromise with the contradictory views of its adherents.

See, in general, the commentaries on the Epistles of Peter; also, C. Stengel, *Res gestæ app. principis Petri*, Aug. 1621; C. Korthold, *De Simone Petro primo app. et ultimo*, Gött. 1748; F. G. Abt, *De Simone Petro religionem Jesu inter Judeos pariter atque gentes fundante*, Dr. 1788; Mayerhoff, *Petrin. Schriften*, p. 65 ff.; F. Windischmann, *Vindiciæ petrinae*, Rat. 1836; F. Hauth,

Vie de St. Pierre, Str. 1839; Rettberg, *Petrus*, in the *Halle Encycl.*; F. Kuhn, *Caractéristique de St. Pierre*, Str. 1846; J. B. Roussillé, *Caractéristique de S. Pierre*, Mont. 1855; J. P. Lange, in Herzog's *Encycl.* [B. Weiss, *Petrin. Lehrbegriff*, B. 1855; cf. his *Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, 3d ed. 1880 (E. tr. T. & T. Clark), and his essay, *Die petrin. Frage*, in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1865, p. 619 ff.; 1866, p. 255 ff., and 1873, p. 539 ff.; W. M. Taylor, *Peter the Apostle*, N. Y. 1879; Schaff, *Hist. Chr. Ch.*, I. 245 ff.; Art. *Peter*, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*, to which a full bibliography is appended.] — It is enough simply to make mention here of the legends which have been connected with the name of this Apostle. Jarry, *Diss. sur l'épiscopat de S. Pierre à Antioche*, P. 1807; L. v. Stolberg, *Ueber den Vorrang des Ap. Petrus*, Hamb. 1815; Tüb. *Quartalschr.*, 1820, IV.; 1830, IV.; 1840, II., III.; Spanheim, *Opp.*, II. 331 ff.; S. v. Til., *De Pet. Romæ martyre non pontifice*, Leyd. 1710; J. P. Mynster, *Opp.*, II. p. 141; Ammon, *Fortbildung des Chr.*, IV. 319 ff.; Ols-hausen, in the *Studien*, 1838, IV.; J. Ellendorf, *Petrus in Rom*, Darmst. 1841 [E. tr. in *Bib. Sac.*, Jul. 1858, and Jan. 1859]; Wieseler, *Chronol. der apost. Zeit.*, 552 ff.; Gundert in the *Jahrb. d. Theol.*, 1869, II.; R. A. Lipsius, *Die Quellen der römischen Petrusage kritisch untersucht*, Kiel, 1872 [Summary by Saml. M. Jackson, in *Presb. Quar.*, 1876, p. 265]; C. T. L. Morich, *Des heil. Ap. Pet. Leben und Lehre*, Bg. 1874. [A. Hilgenfeld, *Petrus in Rom u. Johannes in Kleinasien*, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1872; also his *Einl.*, 1875, p. 618 ff.; G. Volkmar, *Die römische Papstmythe*, Zür. 1873; W. Krafft, *Petrus in Rom*, Bonn, 1877, in the *Theol. Arbeiten des rhein. wissensch. Predigervereins*, III. 185; Joh. Friedrich (Old Cath.), *Zur ältesten Gesch. des Primates in der Kirche*, Bonn, 1879; Schaff, *Hist. Apost. Ch.*, p. 348.]

Of the discourses put into the mouth of Peter in the Acts (§ 50), that in ch. ii., especially, has been repeatedly explained in monographs: by J. P. Beyckert, Arg. 1764; J. A. G. Hoffmann, Jena, 1833; P. D. Schouw-Santvoort, Traj. 1846. On that in ch. i. see J. J. Stronek, Dordr. 1852. Weiss, *Petr. Lehrbuch* (§ 148), makes use of these discourses as the foundation of a systematic presentation of doctrine.

The incident at Antioch related in Gal. ii. 11 ff. (§ 67) of itself warrants the representation given in the text, and throws a clear light upon the scenes in the Acts, where, if facts be considered without prejudice, Peter is always represented as acting not so much upon principle as under the pressure of superior influences. According to Paul's own testimony, Gal. ii. 6 ff., Peter could not well have spoken otherwise at the conferences than as we read in Acts xv. 7 ff. This discourse is certainly an echo of Pauline ideas, but this was natural under the given circumstances; he did not draw Pauline conclusions therefrom, because these had not yet been expressed.

56. There was no one of his fellow Apostles upon whom he could have leaned as upon a stronger. Of the sons of Zebedee, James was early martyred, and John matured late, even in the view of those who would mention him here at all. The others all appear to have remained in the background. But there came to his aid most efficiently a disciple in whose whole personality the churches gathered from Judaism recognized their ideal, and who, therefore, perhaps without a formal election, came to stand at the head of the church at Jerusalem. This was James, the brother of the Lord. A genuine Israelite, he remained true to the discipline of Moses as it was at that time prescribed, and under his leadership it was so maintained everywhere in the churches of Palestine. He was called for

this reason, even among the people, the Just, the man after the mind of the Law. But his service of God was no outward thing; his faith would prove itself by deeds, and the Gospel was to him not merely the pledge of a glad hope, but a law of love and of freedom from sin.

The sons of Zebedee, together with Peter, had been the most intimate companions of Jesus (Mk. v. 37; Mt. xvii. 1; xxvi. 37, and parallels). James died a martyr in the year 44 (Acts xii. 2). John plays no part at all in the Acts, and still holds but a subordinate place among the leaders of the Jewish Christians more than a decade later (Gal. ii. 9). For his subsequent history, see § 225 ff., where also the literature.

On the well-known controversy respecting the brothers of Jesus and the identity or diversity of the second apostle James and the bishop of the church at Jerusalem, see the modern commentaries on the Epistle (of James); also Mayerhoff, *Petrinische Schriften*, p. 43 ff.; Clemen, in Winer's *Zeitschrift*, I. 329 ff.; Wieseler, in the *Studien*, 1842, I. 71 ff., and the monographs of A. H. Blom, *De τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῦ κυρίου*, Leyd. 1839; Ph. Schaf, *Jacobus der Bruder des Herrn*, B. 1842; P. Goy, *Recherches sur Jacques frère du Seigneur*, Mont. 1845; Scherer in the *Strassb. Revue*, III. 31, 313; Ebben, *Veterum scriptorum testimonia de Jacobo fratre Domini*, Cleve, 1858; Laurent, *Neutesl. Studien*, 1866, p. 153 ff.; cf. the Arts. *Alphæus, Jacobus, Judas*, by Gesenius, Meier, and Gelpke, in the *Halle Encyclopædia*. — Vriemoot, *De Jacobi dignitate pontificia* (Obs., p. 296); N. Fuller, *Misc.*, p. 288. [Mill, *The Accounts of our Lord's Brethren in the N. T. Vindicated*, Cambr. 1843 (cousin theory); Lightfoot, *The Brethren of the Lord*, in his *Comm. on Galatians*, Lond. 2d ed. 1866 (step-brother theory; very able); H. Holtzmann, *Jacobus der Gerechte u. seine Namensbrüder*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.* 1880, No. 2; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 264 ff.]

There is a preponderance of evidence in favor of the existence of actual brothers of Jesus (Mt. xii. 46 ff.; xiii. 55; Mk. iii. 31 ff.; Jn. ii. 12; vii. 3 ff.; Acts i. 14; cf. Mt. i. 25), and without the circle of the twelve (Acts i. c.; 1 Cor. ix. 5). The James mentioned in Gal. i. 19, unquestionably the same who appears in Acts xv. and xxi., it is everywhere simplest to regard as not belonging to the circle of the twelve, although placed on an equality with the Apostles as respects dignity.

Features of the picture above given are borrowed from the Epistle (i. 25, 27; ii. 8, 14 ff., etc.), cf. § 145 f., and at least with quite as much warrant as if we should attempt to derive them from the extravagant narrative of Hegesippus (Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 23). Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, p. 296.

Of other teachers of the church of Jerusalem we know little. The best known are Joseph Barnabas, *ὁὶς παρακλήσεως* (Acts iv. 36; xi. 23 ff.; xiii. xiv., xv.; 1 Cor. ix. 6), and Sylvanus (Silas, Acts xv. 22, 40 f.), both of whom, however, soon connected themselves with Paul, § 57. (So also John Mark, at that time still very young, Acts xii. 25; xv. 39.) Beside these, Agabus (Acts xi. 28), Philip and his four daughters (Acts viii. 5 ff.; xxi. 9), Judas Barsabas (Acts xv. 22).

On all these see the expositors on the appropriate passages; on Barnabas also § 234 and Thielo in the *Halle Encyclopædia*. E. G. Brehme, *De Jos. Barnaba seu Barsaba*, Leuc. 1735; H. Scharbau, *Obs.*, II. 461; Ullmann in the *Studien*, 1828, II. 377; W. H. Haverkorn, *De Barnaba*, Arnh. 1835. On Silas also the Introductions to the Epistle to the Thessalonians; J. C. Zeune, *Silas et Lucas non idem*, 1771; L. F. Cellarius, *De Sila*, Jena, 1773; Van Vloten, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1867, II.; 1871, III.; Ed. Graf, in Heidenheim's *Viertelj. S.*, VIII. 373. On Agabus, J. E. J. Walch, *De Agabo*, 1757; Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, VI. 22.

57. Thus the church at Jerusalem and those modeled after it, far from separating themselves from the synagogue, were rather patterns of Jewish devoutness, and when Peter, led by the higher power of circumstances, nay rather by inspiration and a visible sign, baptized a heathen proselyte, his friends could call him to account simply for having had dealings with men uncircumcised and having eaten with them. The state of things was different in Antioch; there the friends of Stephen, the Hellenistic disciples expelled from Jerusalem, having doubtless already come in contact in many ways with the Gentiles in daily life, had made known to them their faith and hope and had won many of them. The church in the Syrian capital grew rapidly, and became known to the Greek and Roman population also; and its members being plainly distinguishable from the Jews, they obtained there first, perhaps in derision, the name of Christians. They of Jerusalem, when they heard of this turn of affairs, sent Barnabas to investigate; but he took the same view of the matter as the Antiochians, and besides obtained for them, in the person of Paul, just the man they needed to recognize that which they had done almost instinctively as, in the light of theological conviction also, the only right thing.

The conversion of the Gentile, *i. e.* uncircumcised (Acts x. 14, 34, 45; xi. 3) centurion Cornelius, who, however, had before been an adherent of Jewish monotheism (Acts x. 2) (J. W. Feuerlein, *Cornelius non proselytus sed gentilis*, Altd. 1736; J. M. Lorenz, *De conversione Cornelii*, Arg. 1751; P. Wesseling, *Pro Cornelio centurione*, Traj. 1752; J. Sundelin, *De statu et rel. Cornelii*, Abo, 1772; G. T. Oesfeld, *De ecstasi petrina*, Schn. 1772; Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, III. 420; [Neander, *Planting and Training*, E. tr. p. 69 ff.]), to judge from later occurrences, cannot have produced upon the majority of the members of the Jerusalem church the powerful impression which Peter himself had received from it (Acts x. 47; xi. 17), and which even with him did not always stand the test (§ 55). The general statement of Acts xi. 18 must be very much limited by xv. 1, 5, 7. The most important thing to be noted is the open confession of the history that Peter's action was not the result of deeply-rooted conviction.

The liberal party is plainly designated as the Hellenistic in Acts vi. 8 ff.; xi. 20 (where Ἕλληνας is to be read instead of Ἑλληνιστὰς), and by the names and origin of most of its members. The conversions of Gentiles by such Hellenists may, according to a simple chronological arrangement, be regarded as having preceded the baptism of Cornelius. The designation of the members of the church at Antioch as Χριστιανοί (Acts xi. 26) by the Gentile inhabitants, not at all by themselves, certainly proves that a separation from the Jews had already taken place. That this went so far is questioned by R. A. Lipsius, in a *Jena Progr.*, 1873.

Other preachers at Antioch are named, Acts xiii. 1: Simeon Niger, Menahem, Lucius of Cyrene. On Barnabas see § 56, where also Sylvanus is mentioned. In this city should perhaps be placed also Titus (Gal. ii. 3) and Luke (§§ 88, 211).

C. F. Ammon, *De hellenistis antiochenis*, Erl. 1810; enlarged in Bertholdt's *Journal*, I. 213; J. S. Semler, *Initia societatis chr. Antiochiæ*, Hal. 1767; J.

F. Buddeus, *De origine nominis Christiani*, Jen. 1711 ; J. C. Burgmann, *De eodem*, Rost. 1739.

58. Paul, also known by a Hebrew name, Saul, was born in Tarsus in Cilicia, of well-to-do parents, who possessed Roman citizenship. He was educated at Jerusalem, in the school of the Pharisees, and was initiated into the sacred wisdom of the Jews. As their pupil a fanatical zealot against Christianity, because it threatened to renounce the Law, he had felt called upon to become the instrument of a bloody persecution, when an occurrence which he himself characterizes as miraculous suddenly transformed him into the most zealous apostle of the faith against which he had been fighting. Yet the beginning of his career was not especially remarkable. Partly because of the necessity of recovering himself in quiet and partly because of being avoided by those whom he had persecuted, he did not feel at home in Judea, and had lived for years in retirement when Barnabas introduced him to the church at Antioch. There he rose to a position of independence and influence which no Apostle had yet attained. The remembrance of his former life, the reproach of apostasy with which the Jews spurned him, the originality of his views, and an inner call, all combined to point out for him a new and peculiar field of apostolic activity.

The sources of the history of Paul, exclusive of all apocryphal accounts, are chiefly his epistles, so far as their genuineness is established. The book of the Acts must be put in comparison with them with care, especially since in the chief thing, *i. e.*, the delineation of the mental and spiritual character of the Apostle, it is by no means equal to its task. Cf. § 210. For the opposite view see Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, p. 146. [J. R. Oertel, *Paulus in d. Ap. Gesch.*, Halle, 1868 ; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 724 ff.] In the external biography there are certainly important gaps to be lamented, but for the knowledge of his inner life and doctrine, the epistles suffice completely, in spite of their more casual form and incidental origin. A. W. Haselaar, *De nonnullis Act. et Epp. locis ad hist. P. pertinentibus*, Leyd. 1806. [J. B. Lightfoot, *Illustrations of the Acts from Recent Discoveries*, in *Contemp. Rev.*, May, 1878 ; Howson, *Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles*, Bohlen Lectures, delivered in Phila., 1880, N. Y., 1880 ; Friedr. Zimmer, *Galaterbrief u. Apostelgesch.*, Hildburgh, 1882 ; cf. in part J. H. Scholten, *Das Paulinische Evang.*, from the Dutch, 1881, p. 254 ff.]

The chronology of the life of Paul can only be fixed approximately, at least so far as the dates of particular events are concerned. Those introduced by us here and there are not intended to have any absolute authority but only to orient the reader by their mutual relation. Cf. beside general works on the chronology of the Acts (Lightfoot, *Opp.*, II. 62 ; Bengel, *Ordo temporum*, 231 f. ; *Art. de vérefier les dates*, VII. ; Keil's *Analekten*, III. 1 ; Götschen in the *Studien*, 1831, IV. ; Anger, *De temporum in Actibus ratione*, L. 1833 ; Wieseler, *Chronol. des apost. Zeitalters*, Gött. 1848) ; J. Pearson, *Annales paulini*, 1688 and freq. [É. tr. Cambr. 1825] ; J. H. D. Moldenhawer, *Acta Pauli chronologice digesta* (in his *Introd. in S. S.*) ; J. M. Lorenz, *Annales paulini*, Arg. 1769 ; A. Bloch, *Chronotaxis scriptorum P.*, L. 1782 ; Vogel in Gabler's *Journal*, I. 229 ff. ; Wurm in the *Tüb. Zeitschrift*, 1833, I. ; J. P.

Mynster, *Annalium paul. adumbratio*, Havn. 1845; I. C. A. Agardh, *Zeitrechnung des Lebens P.*, Stockh. 1847; (J. E. Cellerier) *Tableau du ministère de S. Paul*, Gen. 1851; H. Lehmann, in the *Studien*, 1858, II.; A. Stöltzing, *Beiträge zur Exegese der paul. Briefe*, 1869, p. 155 ff.; Köhler (§ 77). [Th. Lewin, *Fasti Sacri, a Key to the Chronology of the N. T.*, Lond. 1865.] The chronology is especially doubtful with respect to the time of his conversion, which is placed by some not long after the death of Jesus, and with respect to the end of his two years' imprisonment at Rome. The synchro-nal data, Acts xi. 28, xii. 23, xxi. 38, xxiv. 27, are of but little help, and in part cannot themselves be accurately fixed.

Data for his external history are furnished by the following passages: Birthplace: Acts ix. 11; xxi. 39; xxii. 3; descent from a Hebrew, hence, probably, recently emigrated, family: Phil. iii. 5; Rom. xi. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 22; how they obtained Roman citizenship is unknown: Acts xxii. 28; cf. xvi. 37; xxii. 27. On this latter matter see Altmann, *Melet.*, I. 138; Cellarius, *Diss.*, p. 710; Deyling, *Obss.*, III. 388; C. H. Lange, *Obss.*, p. 1.

The year of his birth cannot be determined; according to Acts vii. 58, cf. Gal. i. 14, he may perhaps have been some fifteen years younger than most of the Apostles; but of their relative ages (as compared with Jesus) we are also in absolute ignorance.

His figure the ancients thought to be small and unimposing, according to 2 Cor. iv. 7 ff., x. 10 and similar passages, cf. Acts xiv. 12; and legend has nothing less than flattered him on this account. Modern exegesis finds mention also of various infirmities in Gal. iv. 13; vi. 17; 2 Cor. xii. 7.

His double name is explained from general Jewish custom at the time and has nothing whatever to do either with the narrative in Acts xiii. 9 or with other strange conceits of the theologians (Chrysostom, *De mutatione nominis Sauli*, *Opp.*, III. 98; Umbreit in the *Studien*, 1852, II.; and most moderns). Three names (Tertius Paulus Saulus) are given him on the ground of Rom. xvi. 22, by Roloff (§ 351), and Lacroze, in *Thes. epist.*, III. 229; J. Wessel, *De nomine P. ap.* (*Diss.*, II. 373).

His trade does not prove humble origin, but rather, in view of his later circumstances (1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8; 1 Cor. ix. 3; 2 Cor. xi. 9; xii. 13; Phil. iv. 15; Acts xviii. 3; xx. 34, etc.), the wisdom and beneficence of the general custom. *Σκηνοποιός*, moreover, is neither a leather-dresser nor a tool-maker, but a Cilician coarse-weaver. C. S. Schurzfleisch, *Paulus σκηνοποιός*, Vit. 1674.

On his conversion see § 61. Its date it is quite impossible to fix. C. G. Küchler, *De anno quo P. conv. fuerit*, L. 1828. The psychological basis of his call to be the apostle to the Gentiles is suggested in his own statement (Gal. ii. 7, 9) and in the Acts (xxii. 18 ff.), and was certainly connected with his O. T. studies (Acts xxvi. 18).

His eloquence is to be judged of not so much from Acts xiii.-xxviii. (especially as these are certainly merely recollections from separate discourses) as from the epistles; see § 76. Fragment of the orator Longinus in a *Codex ev. vatic.*, in which, after an enumeration of the most famous Attic orators: *πρὸς τοὺτοις Παῦλος ὁ Ταρσεὺς ὄντινα καὶ πρῶτόν φημι προϊστάμενον δόγματος ἀναποδείκτου*. See Hug, *Einl.*, 3d ed., II. 334 [E. tr. Andover, 1836]; Credner, *Einl.*, I. 299. The genuineness of the quotation must, no doubt, remain uncertain. Cf. J. A. M. Nagel, *In judicium Longini de Ap. Paulo*, Altd. 1772.

See in general: Chrysostom, *Homiliæ in laudem S. Pauli*, *Opp.*, Vol. II. Montf., and in Valckenarius, *Opp.*, Vol. II.; G. Major, *Vita S. Pauli*, Vit. 1555 (L. 1732); J. Garceus, *Narratio de S. Paulo*, 1566; A. Godeau, *La vie de S. Paul*, P. 1647; H. Witsius, *Praelectiones de vita Pauli* (*Melet. leid.*, p. 1 ff.); F. Spanheim, *Opp.*, II. 311 ff.; C. M. Pfaff, *De ap. Paulo*, Tüb. 1750; T. Hemsterhuis, *De ap. Paulo*, in *Symbb. duisb.*, I.; N. A. Boullanger,

Examen de S. Paul (*Œuvres*, Vol. VI.); Niemeyer, *Charakteristik*, Pt. I.; P. Haak, *Het leven van Paulus*, Alt. 1797, 3 vols.; A. T. Hartmann, in Scherer's *Schriftforscher*, Pt. I.; G. Menken, *Blicke in das Leben des Ap. Paulus*, Brem. 1828; J. T. Hensen, *Der Ap. Paulus*, Gött. 1830; C. Schrader, *Der Ap. Paulus*, L. 1830 ff., 5 Pts.; Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, II. 272 ff.; Rettberg, *Paulus*, in the *Halle Encykl.*; F. C. Baur, *Paulus der Ap. Jesu*, Stuttg. 1845, 2d ed. 1866, 2 vols. [E. tr. Lond. 1875, 2 vols.]; L. F. Juillard, *Vie de S. Paul*, Str. 1835; E. Mégnin, *Essai sur S. Paul*, Str. 1845; A. Monod, *St. Paul; Cinq discours*, P. 1851. [*Sermons*, P. 1861, II. 121 ff. also in English]; L. I. Rückert, *Kl. Aufsätze für chr. Belehrung* (1861), p. 149-190; Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, Pt. VI.; J. P. Lange in Herzog's *Encycl.*; A. Hausrath, *Der Ap. Paulus*, Hdlb. (1865) 1872, 2 vols.; idem, *Neutestl. Zeitgesch.*, Pt. II. 392 ff. [E. tr. Lond. 1878]; H. Long, *Das Leben des Ap. Paulus*, Winterth. 1866; E. Renan, *S. Paul*, Paris, 1869 [E. tr. by J. Lockwood, N. Y. 1869]; M. Krenkel, *Paulus der Ap. der Heiden*, L. 1869; P. Vallotton, *Le vrai S. Paul*, Paris, 1870. [Lyttleton, *Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*, 3d ed. Lond. 1747; Paley, *Horæ Pauline*, Lond. 1790 and freq.; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*; cf. Howson, *Character of St. Paul*, 2d ed. Lond. 1864; *Scenes from the Life of St. Paul*, 1867; *Metaphors of St. Paul*, 1868; Thomas Lewin, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, new ed. Lond. and N.Y. 1875, 2 vols.; Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*, Lond. and N. Y. 1879, 2 vols.; W. M. Taylor, *Paul the Missionary*, N. Y. 1881. "As biographies, Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, and Farrar are the most complete and instructive" (Schaff). Also Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. p. 281 ff.].

59. His view of Christianity depended inwardly upon his consciousness of the infinite debt which he owed to Christ and the Church as the former enemy of both, and of the insufficiency of his own power ever to cancel that debt. As a theory it was founded upon the perception of the moral wretchedness of mankind in general and the imperfection of all human virtue, as well as the inadequacy of all means offered by philosophy and law to attain to a truly divine righteousness. With this was connected, as a solace for the debt-laden past, the idea of the vicarious death of Jesus, as an expiation for the whole debt of mankind; as a help for the future, against the world and our own weakness, the idea of the new birth as a redemption for believers from the bonds of sin, in consequence of which alone, and not through the works of the law, through the life of the spirit, and not through the power of the letter, by the grace of God, was true justification to be expected. Thus exalting, in the light of revelation, his own personal experience into universal history, he more than sufficiently filled up the gaps which his view of the Law found in the religious ideas of the time with a pure Mysticism, far removed from all idle dreaming.

G. W. Meyer, *Entwicklung des paulin. Lehrbegriffs*, Alt. 1801; G. S. Ritter, *Entwurf des theol. Systems des Ap. Paul.*, in Augusti's *Monatsschrift*, 1801, II. 243; G. L. Bauer, *Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, Pt. IV., 1802; (J. G. F. Leun) *Reine Auffassung des Urchristenthums in den paulin. Briefen*, L. 1803; C. F. Böhme, *Ideen über ein System des Ap. Paul.*, in Henke's *Museum*, III. 540

(1806) ; H. H. Cludius, *Ursichten des Christenthums*, 1808, p. 133 ff. ; J. B. Gerhauser, *Charakter und Theologie des Ap. P.*, Landsh. 1816 ; H. Reuter-dahl, *Dognata Pauli Ap.*, Lund. 1820 ; L. Usteri, *Entwicklung des paul. Lehrbegriffs*, Zürich, 1824, 6th ed. 1851 ; A. Neander, *Gesch. der Apostel*, Pt. II., 1833 and freq. ; C. Schrader, *Der Ap. Paulus*, Pt. III., 1833 ; A. F. Dähne, *Entwickl. des paulin. Lehrbegriffs*, Halle, 1835 ; E. Köllner, *Geist, Lehre, u. Leben des Ap. Paulus*, Darmst. 1835 ; C. F. Ammon, *Fortbildung des Christenthums*, Pt. II. 42 ff., 1836 ; Kuhn, *Genet. Entwicklung des paul. Lehrtypus*, in the *Giessener Jahrb.*, V. ; A. W. Krahmer, *Paulus und Johannes*, Cassel, 1839 ; E. C. J. Lützelberger, *Grundzüge der paulin. Glaubenslehre*, Nür. 1839 ; C. R. Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Johannes*, etc. (1843), p. 289 ff. ; F. C. Baur, *Paulus*, Stuttg. 1845, p. 505 f., 2d ed. II. 1:23 ff. [E. tr. Lond. 1875] ; A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, 1850, p. 53 ff. ; Lutterbeck, *Neuest. Lehrbegriff*, II. 186 ff. ; Schmid, *Bibl. Theol.*, II. 219 ff. ; Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, p. 33 ff. ; Ed. Reuss, *Hist. de la Théol. Chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, 1852, II. 1 ff. ; C. P. Hofstede de Groot, *P. conversio præcipuus theol. Paul. fons*, Gron. 1855 [C. Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, Pt. I., B. 1880 ; Th. Simar (R. C.), *Die Theologie des heil. Paulus*, Freib. 1864 ; A. Sabatier, *L'Apôtre Paul, Esquisse d'une histoire de sa pensée*, P. 1870 ; H. Opitz, *Das System des Paulus nach seinen Briefen*, Gotha, 1873 ; Abp. Whately, *Essays on some of the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul*, from the 8th London ed., Andover, 1865 ; W. I. Irons, *Christianity as taught by St. Paul*, Bampton Lectures for 1870, Oxf. and Lond. 1871, 2d ed. 1876 ; Matth. Arnold, *St. Paul and Protestantism*, Lond. 1870, 3d ed. 1875], and the general works on N. T. Theology ; see especially Baur, p. 128 ff., 256 ff., 338 ff. ; Weiss, p. 216 ff. ; Holtzmann in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, VIII. 372 ff. ; also Pfeiderer (§ 63). [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 525 ff.]

For attempts to construct the Pauline Theology upon the basis of single Epistles, see, for example, §§ 88, 108, 120.

Special points : Schneckenburger, *Die natürliche Theol. des Ap. P. (Beitr., p. 92)*. Definitions of νόμος, γράμμα, πνεῦμα, etc. C. F. Bahrtdt, 1771 ; Koppe, *Excurs. zu Galat.* ; C. F. Böhme, *Der paul. Gegensatz von Buchstabe und Geist*, Jena, 1799 ; D. H. Tyssen, *P. Anthropologia*, Gron. 1847 ; E. A. Zehner, *Voces P. anthropologicæ*, Hal. 1843 ; J. A. Boyer, *Anthropologie de S. Paul*, Str. 1850 ; C. Holsten, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes σάρξ bei Paulus* (1855), in his *Petrus und Paulus*, p. 365 f. ; G. Krumm, *De vocc. P. anthropologicis*, Giess. 1858 ; F. Cazalis, *Anthropologie de S. Paul*, Toul. 1864 ; H. Lüdemann, *Anthropologie des Ap. P.*, Kiel, 1872 ; Sardinoux, *Philos. de l'hist. de l'humanité d'après S. Paul (Ép. aux Gal., Appendix)* ; A. Hoffmann, *Abraham, Moïse, et le Christ, ou l'économie du salut d'après S. Paul*, Str. 1872 ; H. F. T. L. Ernesti, *Vom Ursprung der Sünde nach P.*, Wolfb. 1855 f., 2 vols. ; C. A. Crusius, *De usu voc. νόμος ap. P.*, 1765 ; S. T. Wald, *De vera vi vocc. νόμος et πᾶσις*, Reg. 1788 ; T. A. Seyffarth, *De vi vocc. νόμον et ἔργον cell.*, Vit. 1785 ; C. G. Lange, *Die Lehre P. vom Gesetze (Exeget. Versuche)*, I. 71 ; Cless, *Die wahre Lehre P. vom Gesetze*, Tüb. 1779 ; H. Solier, *Sur le sens du mot loi*, etc., Mont. 1839 ; C. L. Nitzsch, *De discr. legislationis et institutionis div. ex Paulo*, Vit. 1802 ; A. J. Hamerster, *De lege ex P. sententia*, Gron. 1838 ; M. A. N. Rovers, *De P. chr. relig. apologeta*, Traj. 1860. [W. Beyschlag, *Die Paulin. Theodicée*, B. 1868 ; A. Dietzsch, *Adam u. Christus*, Bonn, 1871 ; R. Stähelin, *Zur paulin. Eschatologie*, 1874 ; A. Schumann, *Der weltgesch. Entwicklungsprocess nach dem Lehrsystem des Ap. Paulus*, Crefeld, 1875 ; F. Köstlin, *Die Lehre des Paulus von der Auferstehung*, 1877 ; H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch u. Geist im bibl. Sprachgebrauch*, Gotha, 1878.]

On other points see §§ 60, 63.

It may confidently be maintained that the psychological basis of the Pauline system has contributed most to make his formulas popular and to com-

mend his views as the point of departure for the dogmatics of the Church ; for in many otherwise essential points the other N. T. writings exhibit the same ideas as he, some of them even in a more developed form theologically. Analogous inner experiences have brought it near to many, and as the life of the Apostle is the key to his theory, so the life of the Christian is the vindication of it.

60. This Mysticism is the most important element in the teaching of Paul, and through his teaching for the first time received proper recognition as something essential to the Gospel. This must have been what Jesus meant when He called men to him, when He not only healed their bodily infirmities but also forgave their sins wherever He found faith, and when He promised his disciples to be with them even to the end of the world. This union was not something only to be hoped for at some future time, but something to be felt now, in the inner life, a communion with his death and resurrection, whereby the man became a new creature, not merely in a figurative but in an actual sense, no longer led by his own spirit, continually overcome by the flesh, but by the spirit of God, which is granted him as a pledge of his future inheritance. But the Christ, who had risen within him in such a manner, could not have been an ordinary man or prophet, or the son of God in the sense in which there had already been other sons of God. What in the minds of other disciples was but a presentiment, he aimed to bring to scientific certainty, and he sought to accomplish this object by theological speculation.

It is of the highest importance in this chief part of Paul's gospel, to bear in mind the true nature of the relation between doctrine and life. Redemption (of the individual) is not an act of an essentially juridical character, completed outside of himself, an adjustment of debt and penalty, nor should substitution be regarded as a purely objective, legal, historic affair. Without regeneration and faith (the latter, however, considered not as an intellectual acceptance as true of the divine offer of grace, but as a giving up of self to, and a merging of self in, Jesus Christ) this theology would have no meaning whatever. Logic is only the tool for the scientific working out of the idea, not the source of it. The idea itself has its roots in the depths of the soul.

J. A. Scharf, *De Paulo divinitatis Jesu teste*, L. 1777 ; M. Ulrich, *Num Christus ap. Paulum Deus ?* Tur. 1837 ; J. F. Rübiger, *Christologia paulina*, Br. 1852 ; C. E. Babut, *Étude sur la doctrine de P. touchant la personne de Christ*, Toulouse, 1858 ; W. Beyschlag, *Zur paul. Christologie* (*Studien*, 1860, III.) ; Hilgenfeld, *Ueber den paul. Christus*, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1871, II. ; Pfeleiderer, *ibidem*, IV. ; R. Schmidt, *Die paul. Christologie*, Gött. 1870 ; A. Schilling, *Doct. de S. Paul touchant la pers. de Christ*, Str. 1861 ; S. Hofmeyer, *Doctr. P. de πρωτοτόκῳ*, Traj. 1856. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 543.] Const. Tischendorf, *De vi mortis Christi satisfactoria sec. P.*, L. 1837 ; W. G. Redding, *Pauli de morte Chr. sententia*, Gron. 1845 ; A. Schweizer, *Die Lehre vom Erlösungstode Chr.* (*Studien*, 1858, III.) ; F. C. Baur, *Die Lehre des Ap. P. vom erlösenden Tode Chr.* (*Jenaer Zeitschr.*, 1859, II.) ; J. W. Bok, *Pauli doctrina de τῇ ἀπολυτρώσει*, Amst. 1856 ; F. W. Dresde, *De potestate vocc.*

δικαιοῦν, etc., Vit. 1784 ; J. F. Winzer, *De vocc. δικαίος*, etc., L. 1831 ; L. W. E. Rauwenhoff, *De δικαιοῦσαι paulina*, Leyd. 1852 ; R. A. Lipsius, *Die paul. Rechtfertigungslehre*, L. 1853. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 547.] P. C. Hanstedt, *Paulin. Prädestinationslehre* (*Kieler Mitarb.*, I. 3) ; Steudel, *idem*, *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1836, I. ; B. Weiss, *idem*, *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1857, I. ; J. A. Lamping, *P. ap. de predestinatione decreta*, Leov. 1858.

Redemption from merited punishment is consequently derived from the death of the old man, not from the merit of Christ balanced against it ; redemption from the service of sin is understood through the birth of the new man, who, as a member of Christ, bears his spirit within him, a power that overcomes sin ; finally, redemption from the Law is only another way of stating the fact just mentioned, inasmuch as sin and the Law are correlates. Death and birth take place, however, only in and with Christ.

C. Wennagel, *La morale de S. Paul*, Str. 1842 ; J. J. Devèze, *idem*, Str. 1843. See also J. G. Rosenmüller, in Tzschirner's *Memor.*, VII. 2 ; J. A. Gadolin, *Doctr. P. de emendatione hominis*, Hels. 1832 ; H. F. T. L. Ernesti, *Die Ethik des Ap. Paulus*, Brg. 1868 ; E. Röhrich, *Étude sur les idées morales de S. Paul*, Str. 1872. C. E. Weismann, *De fide et offic. Christianorum doctrina P. ex ep. ad Rom.*, Tüb. 1728 ; Kalchreuter, *Lehre des Ap. P. über das Verhältniss von Wiedergeburt, Heiligung, und guten Werken zur Seligkeit und Rechtfertigung* (*Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1859, III.).

61. It has often been asked, from what sources the Apostle Paul obtained these ideas. This question is of the greater interest, since many in modern times, especially without the Church, have endeavored to show that he raised Christianity into a sphere for which its founder did not originally design it, and consequently made it something wholly different from what it was intended to be, and from what, without him, it would have become. We very much doubt whether this view, in its full rigor, can be established and carried through, at least as respects the place of Jesus himself in it. But with regard to these sources, it is certain on the one hand that those Christians with whom, before his conversion, he had come into close, though hostile, contact, were of liberal tendencies, and that his transformation was naturally the more thorough from the suddenness, like that of a flash of lightning, with which it came upon him ; but on the other hand we must not lose sight of the fact that he himself, who saw so deeply into the human heart, was able to find no psychological explanation of what had been wrought in him. Therefore it may perhaps be allowed the Church thankfully to accept, as a gift from God, the inestimable boon which was conferred upon it through him. 3/19

The relation of Paul to the original Gospel is certainly not quite clearly defined in the apostolic records ; yet the views of those who, pressing Jesus into the background, ascribe to him the honor (or the responsibility ?) of having founded the Church (Salvador, *Jésus-Christ et sa doctrine*, 1832, II. 263 ff. ; Lützelberger, *Paul. Glaubenslehre*, p. 138 ; and others) not only outrage Christian sentiment, but are in glaring contradiction with a true understanding even of the Synoptical Gospels. It is for our time a task of much importance, but of little real difficulty, to discover and point out under the new and more technical form of the Apostle, the genuine, unchanged

substance of the preaching, thought, and life of Jesus. Cf. Löffler's *Kleine Schriften*, II. 210; C. C. Flatt, *De Pauli cum Jesu consensu*, Tüb. 1804; Lechler in the *Würtemb. Studien*, 1847, II.; O. Bourrit, *Comparaison de la doctrine de J. C. avec celle de S. Paul*, Gen. 1834; Hess in Flatt's *Mag.*, V., VI.; Baur, *Drei erste Jahrh.*, p. 32, 43; J. v. Vloten, *Quæstiones paulinæ*, Leyd. 1843.

Closely connected with this matter is the question how far can there be presumed and proved in the case of Paul an actual, historic knowledge of Jesus and his life and teaching, a knowledge derived from apostolic tradition, and not a merely theological, subjective one? Cf. (O. Thenius, *Das Evangelium ohne die Evangelien*, L. 1843) H. Paret, *Paulus und Jesus*, *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1858; I. H. Huraut, *Paul a-t-il connu le Christ historique?* Mont. 1860.

The conversion of Paul, if not an absolute miracle after the old theological pattern, is yet a most remarkable psychological problem. The so-called natural explanation has to do for the most part merely with the known external phenomena, leaving the subjective element of the occurrence unexplained, while the traditional view, to save the former, entirely ignores the latter. It is evident from the repeated assertion of Paul (1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8; cf. Gal. i. 15; Acts xxxii. 3 ff.; xxvi. 9 ff.), that to his mind the appearance was objective, and moreover not the only one (Acts xvi. 6 f.; xviii. 9; xxii. 17; xxiii. 11; Gal. ii. 2; 2 Cor. xii. 1 ff.), and that he was not conscious of having obtained his Christianity from personal instruction of the Apostles. In view of these facts it is, to say the least, precarious to attempt to see in the occurrence nothing but a thunder-storm and an overwrought imagination. On the other hand no sound theology can be satisfied with the notion of a compulsory, mechanical transformation of a great and noble soul. Such a notion would rather call in question the true providential guidance of the whole plan of salvation.

C. A. Heumann, *De illuminatione Pauli* (*Nova sylloge*, I. 80); Lyttleton, *Conversion of St. Paul*, Lond. 1790; Töllner's *Vermisch. Aufsätze*, V. 116; Eichhorn, *Bibl.*, VI. 1 f.; C. F. Ammon, *De repentina Pauli conversione* (*Opp.*, p. 1); Eekermann, *Beitr.*, II. 1; Scherer, *Schriftforscher*, I. 260; Schulze in Heinrich's *Beitr.*, II. 45; Wittig and Sonnenmayer in Augusti's *N. Blättern*, III. 142; Greiling in Henke's *Mus.*, III. 226; A. W. Haselaar (§ 58); E. G. Bengel, *De P. conversione*, Tüb. 1819 f.; J. A. Duminy, *Conversion de S. Paul*, Str. 1827; J. F. Greve, *Die Bekehrung Pauli*, Güt. 1848; H. E. Faure, *De P. ad Chr. converso*, Traj. 1851; H. Paret, *Das Zeugniß des Ap. P. über die ihm gewordene Christuserscheinung*, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1859, II.; C. Holsten, *Die Christusvision des P. und die Genesis des paul. Ev.*, in the *Jenaer Zeitschr.*, 1861, III. (also in his *Petrus und Paulus*); Hilgenfeld, *ibidem*, 1864, II.; Beyschlag, in the *Studien*, 1864, II.; 1870, I., II.; J. E. Meyer, *L'Apparition de Jésus à Paul*, P. 1873. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 296 ff.]

It is not to be forgotten that, aside from all that we call theology, the peculiar conception in the Apostle's mind of what he regarded as his special call (Gal. i. 16; ii. 2, 8; Rom. i. 8; xi. 13; xv. 16; Col. i. 23; Acts xxii. 17 f.), though it may have been more firmly established by later reflection, cannot have been prepared for by previous circumstances.

G. Schubert, *De variis unde P. ap. doctrinæ chr. cognitionem haurire potuerit fontibus*, Vrat. 1812; J. v. Loenen, *Het evangelie v. Paulus*, Gron. 1863; E. Quiévreux, *Essai sur les sources où P. a puisé sa connaissance du Christianisme*, Str. 1866.

62. In any case the formal establishment of his system in its completeness was due to himself, or, if you will, to the school to which he owed his early training. The different elements of

his belief and preaching, the speculative as well as the mystical, were bound together in his mind by a strictly logical method, which never exposed him to the danger of giving himself up now to flights of fancy, again to the vague impulses of ill-defined feeling. He wished to become thoroughly aware of the ultimate grounds of his faith and by means of them to arouse and establish the same faith in others also. Argumentation upon particular points is carried on essentially by appeal to the Scriptures. We are not to see in this a mere conformity to the customs and demands of the Jews, but a part of his own theology. The veil of literalism had been drawn away from his eyes, and he had found in the Scriptures a revelation which before he had not suspected.

His training was from the beginning strictly Jewish, Acts xxiii. 6. Greek quotations here and there in his epistles or discourses (1 Cor. xv. 33 ; Tit. i. 12 ; Acts xvii. 28) by no means prove Greek education. (G. P. Olearius, *De Scr. profanis a P. allegatis*, L. 1701 ; C. H. Zeibich, *De Tarso literarum flore illustri*, in *Symb. brem.*, III. 504 ; O. Möller, *De P. human. litt. cultore*, in *Bibl. lub.*, II. 104 ; A. B. Grulich, *Ueber die griech. Gelehrsamkeit des P.*, Witt. 1773 ; I. Hoffmann, *Paulus in litt. græcis non versatus*, Tüb. 1770.) From childhood (Acts xxii. 3), at least from the time when he began to go to school (vii. 58), he lived (with relatives ? cf. Acts xxiii. 16) in Jerusalem, and attended the instruction of famous Rabbis, especially Gamaliel, of whose character and opinions exegesis (Acts v. 34 ff., which is to be interpreted in accordance with xxiii. 6) and poetry (Niemeyer, *Charakt.*, I. 517, and the common opinion) have conceived very strange notions. C. C. Palmer, *Paulus und Gamaliel*, Giess. 1806 ; C. W. Thalemann, *De eruditione Pauli Judaica non Græca*, L. 1769. On the other hand, F. Köster, in the *Studien*, 1854, II., scents a study of Demosthenes. T. Diestelmann, *Das Jugendleben des Paulus und seine Bekehrung*, Hann. 1866. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 288 ff.]

In this school Paul acquired, first and chiefly, his religious principles (Gal. i. 14 ; Phil. iii. 5), which were the more strict from the purity of his moral nature ; but also, beside these, his formal culture, which remained after his conversion, knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures (§ 503), and the art of disputation upon them (Acts ix. 29 ; xxviii. 23, etc.), and a thorough acquaintance with tradition.

J. H. a Seelen, *De Paulo doctore scholastico*, Lüß. 1744 ; C. E. a Windheim, *De Paulo gentium ap.*, Hal. 1745 ; J. W. Ballhorn, *De prudentia P. oratoria*, Jena, 1753 ; J. S. Semler, *De sapienti P. doctrinæ æconomia*, 1766 (*Progr.*, p. 258) ; L. F. Cellarius, *De Paulo gentium ap. maxime idoneo*, Vit. 1776 ; Augusti, *Mon. Schr.*, III. 163. — J. D. Strohbach, *De eruditione P. Ap.*, L. 1708 ; J. H. Benner, *De P. idiota* (*Otia*, p. 171) ; P. Zorn, *De eloquentia P. exteriori* (*Opp.*, p. 327).

63. That this system, rich alike intellectually and spiritually, stood before the soul of the new Apostle perfect at the outset, cannot, it is true, be definitely proved ; but the gradual development of it, if such development there was, certainly lies wholly beyond any sources of information open to us. These sources are his own writings alone, not the dim outline given in the discourses put into his mouth in the book of the Acts.

Moreover, considering the small extent and the nothing less than systematic plan of his writings, it is hazardous to attempt to draw from every form in which the thought appears an inference as to its relation to the whole system. It is certainly not until the later epistles that he fully expounds his speculative Christology, and it may be that in this point of doctrine, which he left incomplete, he had been working his way on to more and more comprehensive views; but the premises for it, and even one and another decisive statement, are to be found in his earlier epistles. Only upon one point does his view appear to have gradually grown clearer. In his expectations of the coming of the Messiah he had been a true son of his time and of his people, and, in common with his fellow Apostles, had encouraged both himself and others by means of it. But as the years went by it became less prominent; as his soul-life and the labors of his calling pressed their claims upon him more and more, fancy rested; and here again it was shown how the spiritual meaning is everywhere able to break through the figurative envelope.

But that Paul actually did base his preaching upon a conscious and organized system is evident not only from the emphasis with which he speaks of his gospel (Rom. ii. 16; xvi. 25; Gal. i. 7 ff.; ii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 8, in which passages there is certainly not always to be sought a contrast with a specifically anti-Pauline preaching), but also from the readiness with which he repeats the theme and its divisions. In the passage Rom. iii. 21 ff. he presents *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, the ideal righteousness, as the fundamental thought of Christianity, and adds thereto, negatively (*χωρίς νόμου*), the putting away of former remedies for sin and of attempts to gain salvation for one's self, positively (*πεφανερωται*), the assurance of a way of attainment, before predicted (*μαρτυρουμένη*), but now newly revealed, which is the Gospel, founded, (1) on the grace (*χάρις*) of God; (2) on redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) in Christ; and (3) on faith, the part in the work which is possible for all, moreover necessary for all, since all are sinners. The Christian life itself, in its essence a creation of God (§ 60), develops in a threefold direction: as intelligent appropriation of salvation (faith), as active promotion of it (love), and steadfast expectation (hope), 1 Cor. xiii. 13; 1 Thess. i. 3; v. 8; Col. i. 4; Eph. i. 15, 18; iii. 17 ff., etc. In each of these three phases the determinative activity of God and the purifying and sanctifying activity of Christ are explicitly and equally insisted upon side by side with the experience and activity of man. [Cf. Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 525 ff.]

Paul himself bears witness to the progressive development of Christian (how much more than theological) perception (2 Cor. xii. 1 ff.; Eph. iv. 11 ff.; Phil. iii. 12; 1 Cor. xiii. 10; 2 Cor. v. 7; Rom. xi. 33, etc.). It is in the highest degree important that this fact be neither overlooked nor in principle denied, as has been done both by modern criticism and by the older orthodoxy. What appears to the former to be a trace of later and alien speculation proves upon closer examination to be the carrying out of an idea which already existed, though in a less developed form. Cf. especially J. Köstlin in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1857, II. 346 ff. The view now generally held, however, is that the gradual development of the system by the introduction of really new elements is actually evident in the Epistles at more than one point (Sabatier, *L'Ap. S. Paul; Esquisse d'une histoire de sa pensée*, Str. 1870; L. Gangloff,

La Genèse de la Théol. Paulinienne, Str. 1868 ; B. Weiss, *Theol. des N. T.* [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1882 f.], and many others), a view which naturally leads, finally, to the rejection of the supposed innovating Epistles. Cf. Holsten, *Petrus und Paulus*, p. 65 ff., and, most full and clear of all, O. Pfeiderer, *Der Paulinismus, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der urchristl. Theologie*, L. 1873. [E. tr. Lond. 1877, 2 vols.]

The spiritual doctrine of the resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 12 ff., 35 ff.), essentially different from the Jewish, is at first overgrown with the latter, and is obliged little by little to overcome it and strip it off. Why should the same process be less conceivable in other points where the difference was not so great? Cf. § 122 and J. Tobler, *Paul. Auferstehungslehre*, Z. 1792 ; V. A. Bastide, *Doctrine de S. Paul sur la Résurrection*, Str. 1840 ; G. C. Storr, *De παρουσία quid P. statuerit?* Tüb. 1795 ; C. C. Krieger, *Doctrine de S. Paul sur la parousie*, Str. 1836 ; A. Lau, *P. von den letzten Dingen*, Brand. 1837 ; C. Buob, *La parousie d'après S. P.*, Str. 1851 ; H. A. Senott, *P. doctrina de Antichristo*, Jena, 1832 ; J. A. Edman, *De παρουσία Chr. secundum P.*, Abo, 1816 ; C. Höpfner, *Exposé des idées eschatologiques de S. Paul*, Str. 1869 ; H. G. Hölemann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 252.

Even the great thought of the abrogation of the Law must upon closer consideration be regarded as of gradual growth, unless we are ready to deny the authenticity of the account in Acts xv. For according to this, Paul was content at Jerusalem with emancipating the Gentiles, and he afterward circumcised Timothy. Again, in Gal. v. 11, he alludes to a different view which he had once held, but had now given up. But especially to be noticed is the wholly changed state of affairs in Acts xxi., eight years after the first proceedings.

See my essay on the Councils at Jerusalem, in the *Nouv. Revue*, II., III., also separately, 1859, p. 75 ; *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, 3d ed. I., 345 ff. [E. tr. 297 ff.].

64. The mission of Barnabas had not had the effect which the strict believers in Jerusalem had expected from it. He had remained in Antioch, and although a Levite by birth, had heartily joined the movement in that place. In company with Paul, who from now on considered himself the Apostle of the Gentiles, he undertook a missionary tour through the provinces of Asia Minor, which had brilliant success, and showed no immediate desire to return to Jerusalem. Then there came upon the scene other members of the mother church, of more strict opinions, who taught openly that without circumcision and observance of the Law one could have no part in the Messianic salvation. The Christians of Antioch were troubled. Paul and Barnabas defended their convictions and teaching ; and when they could not come to an agreement, determined to plead their cause in Jerusalem itself ; whether because they were certain of obtaining a hearing and just consideration at the hands of the Apostles, or because the church wished to bring the matter at issue before a higher court, as it were.

Continuation of the history of Barnabas, Acts xi. 23 ff., 30 ; xii. 25 ; xiii. 1 ff. ; xv. 1 ff.

The stricter party was at that time still called simply οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς (Acts xi. 2) ; οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας (xv. 1) ; οἱ ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων (xv. 5). For later

names see below. They alone possessed the theorists of the early church; because they alone had been trained in philosophic schools with theological aims. Therefore, as soon as anything similar appeared on the other side, there must of necessity arise a conflict, to be fought out on fundamental principles, in which the twelve, notwithstanding all their other advantages, were necessarily forced into the background, and might become nothing more than figureheads of the parties, simply because they were not men of the schools.

C. F. Börner, *De actis Pauli Lycaonicis*, L. 1708, together with several *Dissertationes* belonging under this head, printed in Ikens' *Thes.*, II. 625 ff.; J. E. I. Walch, *Diss.*, III. 171; Altmann, *Melet.*, I. 157; F. C. Gelpke, *Symbb. ad interpr. Act. xiv.*, in Rosenmüller's *Syll.*, IV.; L. Proes, *De oratione P. Antiochiæ habita*, Traj. 1833; M. T. Vos, *Annot. ad orat. P. Antiochenam*, Leyd. 1833. [See also the appropriate chs. in Farrar, Conybeare and Howson, etc.]

65. Of the proceedings at Jerusalem there are extant two different accounts, over the reconciliation of which there has been much controversy. Yet as much as this appears indubitable from them, that Paul, who had already placed himself at the head of the movement, presented the question chiefly on its practical side, and asked of the older Apostles first of all simply the approbation of his procedure with reference to the Gentiles, and that his convincing arguments, combined with the importance of the results already won by the missions, actually brought about the understanding which he desired and hoped for. There was not lacking, however, stubborn opposition on the part of certain members of the church, who put themselves forward at the conference; but the energy of Paul prevailed over them, and the leaders on both sides gave their sanction to the common work; it being understood, however, that the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles should be left to the Antiochians. The Apostles recognized the fact that the grace of God had been visibly bestowed there also, and they would not prevent it. They may have realized also that Jerusalem was now no longer, as once, the centre whence the pulse of Christian life proceeded, and hence, instead of the filial obedience which the spiritually enlightened circle of the Apostles once demanded, now claimed only the filial charity which the mother church, impoverished as she now was even temporally, could no longer do without.

The irreconcilableness of Gal. ii. and Acts xv. (for that the two passages treat of the same event is now quite generally admitted; see the expositors and chronologists; on the contrary, Wieseler, in *Excursus to Comm. über Gal.*) is asserted most emphatically by Baur (*Paulus*, 104 ff., 2d ed. I. 119 ff.) and his school; cf. especially Hilgenfeld in his *Zeitschrift*, 1858, II., and in several other essays: *Paulus und die Urapostel*, *Der Galaterbrief und die Apostelgeschichte*, 1860, II., III.); the harmonistic interpretation, i. e. that the private discussion of the matter preceded the public, is presented, for example, by Neander (*Ap. Gesch.*, I. 99 ff.). But even in Gal. ii. 4 the *παρείσταται* — *οἵτινες παρείσθηλον*, etc., are evidently those who, against the

will of Paul, had mingled in the discussion and attempted to carry through their demands. The preposition shows that they did not come upon the scene until later, and therefore cannot be referred to their entrance into the Christian Church. Moreover, the subject of the discussion is precisely the same, Acts xv. 5; Gal. ii. 2 f.,—not, however, simply the dignity of Paul,—likewise also the reason for the decision, Acts xv. 12 ff.; Gal. ii. 7 ff.; and the proviso found in Acts xv. 21 unmistakably meets us again in the compact in Gal. ii. 9. The difference consists only in this, that in the Acts the certainly violent opposition (Gal. ii. 3 ff.) is not mentioned. The latter passage might perhaps be also understood as not referring to a general assembly of Christians. Cf. § 67.

Cf. in general the expositors on Gal. ii. and the literature cited under the following section. Also: J. C. Dannhauer, *Διατύπωσις concilii Hieros.*, Arg. 1648; B. Raith, *De conc. hieros.*, Tüb. 1662; V. Velthem, *Historia conc. Hieros.*, Jena, 1693; M. v. Staveren, *Concilii apost. cum recentioribus comparatio*, Gron. 1837; L. Taillefer, *La conférence de Jérusalem*, Str. 1838; T. C. M. v. Baumhauer, *Lucae app. conventum referentis fides hist. vindic.*, Traj. 1848; Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, p. 393; Ed. Reuss, *La Conférence de Jérusalem*, in the *Nouvelle Revue de Théol.*, Dec. 1858, Jan. 1859; J. T. A. Wiesinger, *De consensu locc. Act. xv. et Gal. ii.*, Erl. 1847; C. Bertheau, *Bemerkungen* on these passages, Hamb. 1854; J. de Frontin, *La conférence de Jérusalem*, Mtb. 1864; J. Oster, *La conférence de Jérusalem*, Str. 1869; C. Weizsäcker, *Das Apostel-Concil*, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1873, II.; A. H. Blom, in the *Leidner theol. Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 465 ff. [Add O. Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 278 ff., 500 ff. (E. tr. II. 3 ff., 234 ff.); T. Keim, *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, Zür. 1879 (cf. Hilgenfeld's review in the *Zeitschr. f. wissensch. Theol.*, 1879, p. 100 ff.); R. A. Lipsius, *Apostelconvent*, in Schenkels *Bibelllexikon*, I. (1869); C. Schmidt, *Der Apostelconvent*, in Herzog-Plitt, *Real-Encykl.*, I. (1877); W. Grimm, *Der Apostelconvent*, in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1880, p. 405 ff.; Wetzel on Gal. ii. 14, 21, *ibidem*, p. 433 ff.; Lightfoot, *St. Paul and the Three*, in his *Comm. on Gal.*; F. Godet, *Comm. on Rom.*, I. (1879) p. 37 ff., Eng. tr.; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 334 ff.]

66. The practical outcome of these discussions was therefore undoubtedly the acknowledgment of what could no longer be altered or hindered, namely, the fact that the Gentiles were to be admitted to baptism, and therewith to a share in all Christian hopes, without further conditions than those which opened to them the door of the synagogue. But to this, according to the custom of that time, even uncircumcised persons had entrance, provided only they did not give open offense by practices which to the Jews were even more an abomination than the neglect of the most essential ceremonial laws: for example, the service of idols, the eating of flesh that had been offered to idols, or of that which had been strangled, or of blood, or such unions of the sexes as were abhorrent to a refined moral sense. In a word, the Gentile Christians, so far as their relation to Judaism was concerned, were to be proselytes of the gate. Of a like release of the Jewish Christians from the ancient religious obligations nothing was said at this time. For them Moses was still everywhere read in the synagogues each Sabbath.

The precept ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων (εἰδωλοθύτων) καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος (Acts xv. 20, 29) was one of the so-called Noachian injunctions, i. e. one of those belonging to a supposed pre-Mosaic revelation, and therefore more widely binding, the observance of which marked an initial stage, as it were, of true religious perception. (Proselytes of the Gate, see § 41.) E. N. Bagge, *Περὶ ἀλισγ. τῶν εἰδώλων*, Jena, 1748; J. G. Dorsch, *De sanguine et suffocato* (in Menthen's *Thes.*, II. 457).

Πορνεία in the above connection cannot be simply fornication, for in that case many another gross sin might have been mentioned. It must certainly have been something quite a matter of course among the Gentiles, although to the Jews highly obnoxious, as were the rest of the things mentioned, most probably such conjugal connections as the latter held to be incestuous (cf. D. H. Hering, in *Bibl. brom.*, IV. 289; Deyling, *Obs.*, II. 469; M. Weber, *Opp. apolog.*, p. 75; *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1842, IV. 803; Gieseler, in *Stäudlin's Archiv für Kirchengesch.*, IV. 312; Baur, *Paulus*, 2d ed. I. 162; Friedlieb, *Prolegg. zur Hermeneutik*, p. 114).

The opinion that the validity of the Law for Jewish Christians is affirmed in Acts xv. 21 is significantly confirmed by xxi. 20 ff. James there expressly states his desire to place no hindrance in the way of Paul with regard to the conversion of the Gentiles, but Paul on his part is to expect no departure of the Jews from the Law.

This fact is wholly misunderstood by the old theology. H. Witsius, *Misc.*, II. 566; J. G. Carpzov, *De synagoga cum honore sepulta*, Altd. 1716; Vitringa, *Obs.*, VI. 443; C. M. Pfaff, *De abrogatione legis*, Tüb. 1725; G. Benson, *Paraphr.*, II. 127 ff.; H. Benzel, *De decreto apost. Act. xv.*, Lund. 1738; Marek, *Diss. ad N. T.*, p. 447; S. J. Baumgarten, *De usu legis necessario*, H. 1750; J. C. Klemm, *Judaismus Christianismo sublatus*, Tüb. 1752; P. J. Müller, *De indulgentia Christi et App. erga Judæos*, Arg. 1761; C. A. Crusius, *De vera indole errorum inter primos Christianos de lege mosaica retinenda*, L. 1770.

C. L. Nitzsch, *De sensu decreti ap.*, Vit. 1795; J. A. Nösselt, *De vera vi et ratione decreti ap.*, Hal. 1794; J. Tauscher, *De loco Act. xv. 28 sq.*, Trept. 1859.

C. H. F. Bialloblotzky, *De legis mos. abrogatione*, Gött. 1824, 4°; M. Nicolas, *Rapport de l'ancienne à la nouvelle alliance*, Str. 1836; C. A. Buob, *De abrogatione legis mos. ex Petri et Jacobi sententia*, Mont. 1842; A. Pellenc, *Décision des Apôtres à Jérusalem*, Str. 1837; Brenske, *Exeget. Bemerkungen zu Act. xv. 19 ff.* (*Studien*, 1859, IV.).

67. This decision, which could not well have been announced and confirmed in the church otherwise than with some solemnity, was evidently, in the view of those whom it concerned, not only, externally considered, a way to peace, but also, in its inner meaning, a declaration that the essence of Christianity did not depend upon the personal relation of the individual to the Old Testament dispensation. Doubtless many of those who made this decision their own expressed thereby a conviction which had not been clearly in their minds at the first, and consequently there was in the fact itself an important advance. But there likewise lay in it the germ and cause of a more strict separation of parties. While many Jewish Christians of Pharisaic training protested by word and deed against this concession, natural consistency must have led others to con-

sider the burdensome prescriptions which their religious training had entailed upon them, and whose worthlessness they had recognized in the light of their Christian faith, as abrogated for themselves also. Scarcely was the formula of adjustment discovered when it proved itself to be insufficient on both sides, and those who defended it became themselves uncertain of their way.

The result at Jerusalem was evidently based upon no theological principle, since unimportant things were insisted upon, while an important one (circumcision) was given up. It could therefore satisfy no one who was accustomed to think and act on principle. Nevertheless, it was by no means a mere provisional arrangement (Acts xv. 28, *ἐπιταγές*), and long afterward was still retained as a party programme (xxi. 25; Rev. ii. 14; cf. 1 Cor. viii.).

In Acts xv. 23 ff. is preserved the text of a letter missive by which the decision of the Apostles at Jerusalem was officially communicated to the churches of the Gentile Christians. Were it not that one might hold the same opinion of this letter as of the discourses inserted in the book (§ 50), it would certainly be the oldest piece of Christian literature that has come down to us. The formal wording reminds us unmistakably of Lk. i. 1. To doubt the reality of the decision altogether (Baur, *Paulus*, 132 ff., 2d ed. 150 ff.), in other words to regard the above compact as evidence of a later period of development, is the natural consequence of a theory which professes to be able to conceive the different tendencies in the early Church only as successive, not as simultaneous, and for this reason extends so beyond all bounds the period during which the apostolic literature had its origin. That Paul, later and amid wholly different surroundings, never appeals to it should not in justice be taken into account. Compromises never endure long, and even Judaistic polemics did not regard this. Even though the decree as such, and in its present form, is to be regarded as spurious, yet the substance of it is quite certain at some time and in some region to have been in force, and even later still to have been adapted to the circumstances. And if we are to regard the Acts as in the wrong throughout, how can it be proved that Paul actually came out at Jerusalem with the complete and consistent theory of the Epistle to the Galatians? Would he in that case have been listened to at all?

That Paul spread the apostolic decree among the churches himself (Acts xvi. 4) can only be understood in this sense, that he simply protected himself by means of it, when necessary, at the first. Any positive use of it on his part is certainly (later) inconceivable. Practically 1 Cor. viii. ff., especially ix. 20 ff., Rom. xiv. f., would amount to the same thing, and the circumcision of Timothy is certainly not an invention. Cf. the last note in § 63.

The more clearly the respective positions of, and the controversy between, Paul and the Judaists meet us at every step, the more difficult does it become to discover the position of those who, according to Gal. ii., gave the hand of fellowship to Paul, but are nowhere, least of all in Acts xxi., represented as having taken sides against the other party. On Peter, see § 55. James seems by no means to have given up his conservative principles. There is no sufficient reason for connecting the separation of Barnabas from Paul (Acts xv. 37 ff.) with this matter. But the relation of Paul to the heads of the church at Jerusalem was certainly not altogether definite (Gal. ii. 6; 1 Cor. i. 12; cf. iv. 6; also Acts xxi. 20 f.; 2 Cor. xi. 5); he always treated the matter, indeed, with delicacy, although so far as the main point was concerned he never by any means gave up his convictions; see espe-

cially Gal. ii. 11 ff., and the expositors thereon. Cf. Jerome, *Ep. 89 ad Augustin.*, and its answer, and on both *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1824, p. 195; also Deyling, *Obss.*, II. 520; Benson, *Hist.*, III. 23; C. Middleton, *Abhandl.*, p. 1; Benner, *Otia*, p. 99; Knapp, *Scr. var. arg.*, II. 448 f.; J. A. Quenstedt, *De paulina Petri increpatione*, Vit. 1687; C. E. Weismann, *Censura Petri paulina*, Tüb. 1745; E. G. A. Böckel, *Controv. Pt. et Pl. antiochena*, L. 1817.

68. Meanwhile Paul, more and more sure of his own position, and certain of friendly sympathy at his headquarters in Antioch, had undertaken operations for the extension of the kingdom on a much larger scale than ever before. He was the first, at least so far as trustworthy accounts inform us, to carry the Gospel beyond the confines of Asia into a part of the world which was one day to become its second home. Supported by ever-increasing numbers of assistants of his own school, whom he had filled with his own spirit and his own zeal, he penetrated into the very heart of Greece proper, and left behind him, in many places which he visited, small circles of active, wide-awake friends, the fresh fire of whose faith may soon have enkindled many others. Even he at first addressed himself to the Jews assembled in the synagogues or otherwise accessible to him, but the truth is, he always found a more favorable hearing among the Gentiles, and they doubtless from the beginning formed the majority in his churches. Their presence served to prejudice the Jews yet more against the whole work, although the Apostle took great pains to overcome their aversion by his own strict observance of his duties as a Jew, and by great indulgence toward prejudices and weaknesses of conscience.

Among the friends and pupils of Paul we enumerate (aside from those already mentioned, § 57) as the better known, also including the later: Timotheus of Lystra (Acts xvi. 1 and freq.), Archippus and Epaphroditus of Colossæ (Col. i. 7; iv. 17; Philem. 2), Tychichus and Trophimus of Ephesus or the vicinity (Acts xx. 4; Col. iv. 7; Eph. vi. 21 and freq.), Aquila of Pontus, in Corinth and Ephesus (§ 93), Aristarchus of Thessalonica (Acts xxvii. 2; Philem. 24), Demetrius (Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 10), Artemidorus and Zenodotus (Tit. iii. 12 f.), Erastus (of Corinth? Acts xix. 22; cf. Rom. xvi. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 20), Andronicus and Junianus (at Ephesus? Rom. xvi. 7), Crescens (2 Tim. iv. 10), and many others. Cf. also § 57. C. W. Bosius, *De Andronico et Junia*, L. 1742; J. A. Dietelmair, *De Archippo*, Altd. 1751; J. D. Strohbach, *De Epaphra Colossensi*, L. 1710. [On Timothy, Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, I. 197, 264; see also Howson, *Companions of St. Paul*, 1871.]

We should also mention here the fixed and maturely considered determination of Paul to have his own independent field of labor (Rom. xv. 20; 2 Cor. x. 16; Gal. ii. 6 f.)

On his method as a missionary cf. Acts xiii. 5, 14 f., 46; xiv. 1; xvi. 13 f.; xvii. 2, 10; xviii. 4 ff., etc. *Ἰουδαῖοι πρῶτον καὶ Ἕλληνι* (Rom. i. 16; ii. 9 f.; cf. 1 Cor. i. 22 ff.; Gal. iii. 28).

On Apollos of Alexandria and his special relation to Paul (Acts xviii. 24 ff.; 1 Cor. i. 12; iii. 4 f.; iv. 6; xvi. 12; Tit. iii. 13) see §§ 98, 153, and

the expositors on the above passages ; also, L. Müller, *De eloquentia Apollonis*, Schl. 1717 ; J. J. Pfizer, *De Apollo doctore apost.* (Iken's *Thes.*, II. 691) ; J. F. Hoffmann, *De Apollone in Scripturis potenti*, Numb. 1741 ; B. A. Hopf, *De Apolline pseudodoctore*, Hag. 1782 ; J. P. Beyckert, *Vindiciæ Apollonis*, Arg. 1784.

C. Cellarius, *Itinerarium Apost. seu amœnitates hist. et geogr. ex itineribus Pauli collectæ*, H. 1700 ; J. J. Amnell, *Hellas Sacr. Scr. illustr.*, 1752 (*Mus. duisb.*, II.). Maps of the scene of apostolic (*i. e.* Pauline) missionary operations are to be found in many old editions of the Bible and popular works ; also in Schott's *Isagoge*, Neander's *Ap. Gesch.*, Allioli's *Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, etc.

69. The smaller the circles in the midst of which Paul had to build up the Christian life at once of himself and others, the more intimate became the relationship between him and them. We nowhere find that wholesale baptism of multitudes into an imperfectly or wrongly apprehended hope. His work was rather the spiritual training of a few, who had hitherto been strangers to all higher religious instruction, and among whom, for that very reason, a more living interchange of thought and feeling and a clearer apprehension of individual needs was possible. Whether he spent much or little time in a place, he always left behind him at his departure not only his blessing, but his heart also, and endeavored in every way, by his own renewed visits, by inquiries made by friends, or in any other way he was able, to maintain and revive this close relation, and to extend to his former hearers, in all the vicissitudes of their inner and outer life, admonition, encouragement, and consolation. This apostolic relation, grown to a necessity with him, finally led him to his correspondence.

The relation of Paul to his churches is reflected most beautifully in such passages as 1 Cor. iv. 15, 2 Cor. vi. 11 ff., Gal. iv. 12 ff., and many others ; in a hundred little touches in the greetings at the beginning and end of his epistles ; and in general in the prominence of personal allusions.

70. A connection thus firm and unbroken between Paul and his churches was the more necessary since soon their peaceful development was hindered no longer by outside enmity alone, but also by internal dissension. The more clearly apparent became the consequences of those liberal principles to which, in the first unguarded moments, so great latitude had been allowed, the less satisfied were the strict Jewish Christians with a mere idle protest against the indirect but no less certain abolition of their ancestral laws and privileges ; they began active opposition to the work which alarmed them, and endeavored by the same means, missions and preaching, to create a reaction. The other Apostles certainly did not support this undertaking, but neither had they committed themselves frankly and openly to the Pauline movement, and consequently they soon found themselves, in their untenable neutral position,

without influence, and yet unable to prevent the use by the orthodox zealots of their honored names as standards.

On the opponents of Paul as the party of James (Gal. ii. 12) and of Peter (1 Cor. i. 12), even of Christ, *i. e.* denying to the uncircumcised Gentile Christians part in salvation and to their preachers apostolic rank, therefore the exclusives (the above passages, also 2 Cor. x. 7), cf. § 98.

The personal practice of Paul (1 Cor. ix. 20) could not be reconciled by those occupying a Jewish standpoint with his doctrine (Rom. vii. 1-6; iii. 20 ff.; iv.; Gal. iii. 11, etc.), which, misunderstood, led to indifferentism (Rom. xiv. 1 ff.; 1 Cor. vi. 12; viii. ff.). Hence their bitter attacks, and his no less energetic defense (the Ep. to the Gal.; 2 Cor. x.-xii.; Phil. iii. 2 ff., etc.); the necessity of vindicating his own apostolic character (1 Cor. ix. 1; 2 Cor. xi.; Gal. i.; Eph. iii. 7; 1 Thess. ii. 4, etc.), and of combating that of his opponents (2 Cor. xi. 13 ff.; Gal. i. 7), who came into his churches with letters of commendation (2 Cor. iii. 1), would acknowledge the authority of the other Apostles only (2 Cor. xi. 5; Gal. ii. 6 f.), and reintroduced Judaism in its completeness (Gal. ii. 3; iv. 10, 21; v. 2 ff.; Phil. iii. 2; Rom. xiv. 1 ff.). Further details below.

C. E. Scharling, *De P. ap. ejusque adversariis*, Hafn. 1836; J. J. Mauler, *L'Opposition judaïsante contre Paul*, Str. 1868; L. F. Leutwein, *De judaizantibus et pseudapostolis N. T.*, Hal. Suev. s. a.; Hilgenfeld, *Das Urchristenthum* (1855), p. 54 ff.; A. Stap, *Origines du Christianisme* (1864), p. 39 ff. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 352.]

71. There arose a less dangerous opponent of the Gospel in religious superstition, which had its source in indifference toward the national religions, but was fostered by the mingling of all sorts of Oriental and Occidental ideas and forms of belief which was already going on at that time, and independently of Christianity. Its chief seat was the Greek cities of Asia Minor, which stood in close relations with the Orient. Aided by the favorable state of minds which, partly from unsatisfied religious needs, partly from overstrained imagination, partly also from sheer inner emptiness, were ready to seize upon anything which promised to solve their doubts or charm their senses, there were enough, especially of the low Jewish rabble, who knew how, by means of deceptive arts and a false show of mysterious philosophical knowledge or magical powers, to turn credulity to their advantage. The more the Christian religion, under the guidance of its inspired preachers, rose into the higher regions of thought, the greater risk did it run of being confounded, by superficial observers, with this mysterious Gnosis, and of being misused by audacious impostors.

Jewish exorcists are found in the Gospels (Mat. xii. 27), and already making magical use of the name of Jesus (Lk. ix. 49). Later they continually come into collision with the Apostles in the way described, as *μάγοι* (Acts viii. 9; xiii. 6), *γόητες* (2 Tim. iii. 13), *ἐξορκισταὶ* (Acts xix. 13), with magical books (xix. 19), *μάντεις* with the *πνεῦμα πύθωνος* (xvi. 16), for the most part Jews or at least Orientals, even with assumed Arabic titles (xiii. 8), now as opponents of the gospel preaching, now perverting it to their own uses. We cannot help believing that much of what is cen-

sured in the controversial portions of the Pastoral Epistles is not properly regarded as a philosophic Gnosis, but rather belongs under the general head of this jugglery. At least the silly women of 2 Tim. iii. 6, especially in the moral state there portrayed, are the natural audience for jugglery of this sort. (Cf. on this and the following section, *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 636 ff., 3d ed. I. 366 ff. [E. tr. I. 316 ff.].)

The best commentary on these hints is furnished by the well-known romance of Apuleius; cf. D. Tiedemann, *De artium magicarum origine*, 1787; E. Salverte, *Des sciences occultes*, P. 1829, 2 vols.; C. C. Horst, *Theurgie*, Mayence, 1820, etc.; in general the expositors on Acts xix.; especially, C. Siber, *De περιεργία Ephesiorum* (Menthen's *Thes.*, II. 484); C. S. Schurzfleisch, *De literis Eph.*, L. 1699; J. C. Ortlob, *De Eph. libris curiosis*, L. 1703; J. F. Scherer, *Ad Act. xix. 19*, Arg. 1757.

With entire confidence we place here (and not, with the Church Fathers and older historians, in the following section) Simon the Sorcerer (Acts viii.), on whom see in particular Van Dale, *Idol.*, p. 244; Mosheim, *Diss.*, II. 55; Gfrörer, *Urchr.*, II. 370; C. Streisguth, *Simon le magicien*, Str. 1839; Simon in Ilgen's *Zeitsch.*, 1841, III. Modern criticism, recognizing the unhistoric character of the later witnesses, and especially of the Clementine Homilies (§ 255), and looking through the person of Simon as a mask, has gone to the length of the complete abandonment of all historical basis. (Baur, *Gnosis*, 305; *Drei erste Jahrh.*, 83 f.; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, I. 306; Volkmar, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1856, II.; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1868, IV.)

72. It would, doubtless, be going too far to deny the possibility that, even in the apostolic period, new religious speculation of a more serious kind may have been cultivated within the limits of the Gentile schools also. It is true, there are no complete systems of that period which necessarily raise our conjecture to the rank of an immediate certainty; nevertheless, there are not wanting indications that, especially in those regions where the mingling of nations in great masses brought about also an interchange of ideas, various systems were built up on the basis of those mystical and theosophic principles which the older Greek philosophy, unconsciously as it were, concealed within its bosom; or, rather, that contact with the everywhere penetrating Oriental monotheistic or pantheistic conceptions brought these slumbering germs to a gradual development. The very fact that Gnosticism, which flourished so luxuriantly during the following generation, so far as its history is known, traces its origin to no single place or name, is a sure proof both that it did not have its real origin in that generation, and that it should not be regarded as the production of a single individual, decade, or province, but as the natural result of a silently progressing and inevitable revolution of the spirit of the age.

Cf. beside the general works on the history of the Church and of Gnosticism (Neander, Lewald, Matter, etc.) the commentaries on the Epistles to the Colossians, Timothy, Titus, and the First Epistle of John; also J. D. Michaelis, *De indicibus phil. gnost. tempore LXX. interpretum*, and C. F. W. Walch, *De*

philos. orientali, in the former's *Synt. comm.*, II. C. C. Tittmann, *De vestigiis Gnosticorum in N. T. frustra quæsitis*, 1773; J. Horn, *Bibl. Gnosis*, Hann. 1805; E. Scherer, *De Gnosticis, qui in N. T. impugnari dicuntur*, Arg. 1841; J. Hildebrand, *Philosophiæ Gnosticæ origines*, B. 1839; J. A. Möhler, *Ueber den Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, Tüb. 1831; L. Lange, *Beiträge zur Kirchengesch.*, I. 109; Lutterbeck, *Neutestl. Lehrbegriff*, II. 1 ff.; R. A. Lipsius, *Der Gnosticismus, sein Wesen, Ursprung, und Entwicklungsgang*, L. 1860; Hilgenfeld, *Urchristenthum*, p. 86 ff.; idem, *Der Gnosticismus und das N. T.*, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1870, III. (Most of these are, on other points, not in accord with the view here advocated.) [H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries*, ed. by J. B. Lightfoot, 1875; Conybe and Howson, *St. Paul*, I. 448 ff.]

Modern criticism has laid much emphasis upon allusions to Gnostic ideas in N. T. writings, and has deduced therefrom a main argument against their genuineness. We shall recur to particular points (the doctrine of emanations and æons in Col. ii. 18; 1 Tim. i. 4; Tit. iii. 9; prohibition of marriage, 1 Tim. iv. 3; Docetism, 1 Jn. iv. 2; 2 Jn. 7; denial of the resurrection of the body, 2 Tim. ii. 18) at the appropriate places. In general, however, it is evident, from the character of this controversial writing, that the authors of these epistles never trace the errors which they combat to their foundation in a philosophic theory, as would have been natural and easy in the middle of the second century, when Gnosticism was developed and generally diffused. They recognize sporadic symptoms, and treat them simply as doctrines and practices opposed to the truth, not in their connection or their peculiar characteristics; they might therefore discuss from one and the same point of view things which had nothing in common, and were by no means necessarily integral parts of any complete system.

The view current since the time of Irenæus, that Simon the Sorcerer was the founder of Gnosticism, is not a hypothesis at all, but a fable. Older treatises, arriving, for the most part, at altogether too definite results: P. Grevius, *De vitii heresiologorum (Exercitt.)*, p. 341 ff.; T. Ittig, *De heresiarchis ævi Apost.*, L. 1690; cf. his *Hist. secul. I.*, p. 253 ff.; Vitranga, *Obs.*, p. 985; J. D. Winkler, *Hypomnem.*, p. 399 ff.; his *Bibl. Nebenstudien*, Pt. II.; J. G. Gruner, *De falsis app. eccl. ap.*, Cob. 1749.

In general: Thiersch, *Hist. Standpunkt der Kritik*, p. 231 ff.

73. Such were the circumstances under which Paul availed himself of written communication as a means of supporting and carrying forward the work so happily begun by him. We may well suppose that he wrote a great number of letters, when we reflect that he never lacked for opportunity, material, or good will. Certain it is that we no longer possess all that he actually wrote, and very probably the extant ones are not the oldest. In any case, notwithstanding their incidental origin, these latter are precious records of apostolic instruction, and, next to the utterances of Jesus, preserved in the Gospels, the most important part of our sacred collection. They are also, most of them, those of the New Testament writings in regard to whose genuineness the fewest serious doubts have been raised.

Possibility, probability, and certainty of the loss of Pauline Epistles. The oldest we have already refer (provided they be not themselves considered

spurious) to long-continued habits of correspondence (2 Thess. ii. 2 (?); iii. 17). There is certainly lacking an earlier epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. v. 9); whether also one to the Colossians (Col. iv. 10) must remain undecided. For other supposed traces, see §§ 100, 119, 133; Eph. iii. 3; Col. iv. 16; but especially passages like 1 Cor. xvi. 3; 2 Cor. x. 9 ff.; xi. 28, some of which speak of letter-writing as a frequent thing with the Apostle, and others of the motive therefor as ever present. Cf. Ewald, *Paulus*, p. 3. From the older theological standpoint the thought of the possible loss of Pauline Epistles was rejected as incompatible with the idea of the Canon and of Inspiration. See still Horne's *Introduction*, I. 121. [In the 11th and following editions, Horne admits the loss of a first Epistle to the Corinthians.]

It should not be overlooked in this connection that Paul doubtless received as many letters as he wrote. This may not only be inferred in general from passages such as those last cited, but in particular cases at least is historically certain. 1 Cor. (xvi. 17) vii. 1; cf. viii. 1; Phil. iv. 10 ff.

The genuineness of the extant epistles must, in the present stage of criticism, be investigated for each separately. Formerly it might be undertaken as a whole: W. Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*. Other more general works on the Pauline Epistles, aside from the biographies mentioned in § 58 (especially Hensen, Schrader, Baur), and the more comprehensive works in § 31: J. F. Flatt's *Einleitung*, in the fifth volume of his *Commentary*; H. Böttger, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die paul. Briefe*, Gött. 1837 ff., 5 Pts.

74. All the writings of Paul which have come down to us are not only in the epistolary form, but are actual letters addressed to particular and definite readers. They might be characterized by the general name of pastoral epistles, inasmuch as the Apostle occupies himself chiefly in them with the religious and ecclesiastical condition of the churches to which he writes, and in which he had formerly held, and wished still to hold, the position of shepherd of souls and spiritual guide. Some of them are circular letters to all the churches of a province, others epistles to single churches, and others still private letters to friends. Two of these epistles only were written for a purely didactic purpose in the stricter sense, and even in these local and personal references are not lacking.

Herein lies the real distinction between the Pauline and the so-called Catholic Epistles, aside from other peculiarities of a theological and spiritual nature. The recognition of this literary characteristic is the more important since it exerted an essential influence upon the form and arrangement of the doctrinal contents.

Paul often speaks of them as actual *ἐπιστολαί*, i. e. letters sent to a local destination (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. v. 9; 2 Cor. vii. 8; x. 9 ff.; Col. iv. 16; 1 Thess. v. 27; 2 Thess. ii. 15, etc.; cf. 2 Pet. iii. 16), while the expression does not occur at all in the writings of the other Apostles (2 Pet. iii. 1).

75. As the whole inner life of Paul was ruled by one idea, which, in endlessly varied ways, had its influence under all circumstances, so also his epistles, notwithstanding their wonderful richness in thought and style, bear a more or less uniform stamp as respects method and arrangement of material. They begin with greetings to the readers and thanksgiving to

God for what has already been accomplished for the kingdom of Christ there and elsewhere, which are but variations of one and the same theme; are divided almost always into a dogmatic or theoretical and an ethical or practical part; and close with private concerns, items of news, commissions, commendations, personal salutations, and benedictions.

The character described is borne for the most part by the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians; while in the second to the Corinthians, the first to the Thessalonians, and that to the Philippians the didactic tone is less prominent, and personal matters are predominant. The form of the first to the Corinthians was affected by its occasion. Yet the above-mentioned peculiarities (as constant in course of thought and structure as varying in expression and special application) are everywhere to be recognized. The similarity nowhere betrays imitation, a fact which is to be borne in mind in the investigation of the question of genuineness. It may also be remarked here that the negative criticism has made its positions the more improbable (perhaps being obliged in consistency so to do) by increasing, in the progress of its skepticism, the number of authors, and so setting up a whole series of pseudo-Pauls, who are brought into a relation by no means easy to understand, not only with the genuine, but also with one another.

76. Still more does the style of all these epistles bear the true impress of the author's personality. The lack of classical correctness and rhetorical finish is more than offset by the richness of the language and the fullness of the expression. The compactness of the structure requires not a reading, but a study. Broken sentences, ellipses, parentheses, leaps in the argument, allegories, rhetorical figures, express, in an inimitable way, all the moods of an active and cultivated mind, all the affections of a rich and deep soul, and everywhere betray a pen at once keen and yet too slow for the thought. Antitheses, climaxes, exclamations, questions, hold the attention rapt, and touching appeals win the heart of the reader.

It should not be overlooked that it was Paul chiefly who impressed upon the Hellenistic idiom its peculiar Christian character, and thereby moulded the later ecclesiastical language. The difficulties with which he had to contend in the poverty of the religious language were most readily removed by the pregnant meaning given to many expressions, *e. g.* πίστις, χάρις, χριστός, οἰκοδομεῖν, σοφία, ἐν, ἀσθενεῖα, θάνατος, ζῶη, σὰρξ, πνεῦμα, together with their cognates, and many others.

Judged from a purely rhetorical point of view, the Epistles to the Corinthians stand first, and next them those to the Romans and Galatians. Is it not possible that this fact may have had too much weight in the scale of criticism?

For rhetorical vivacity cf. the enumerations: 1 Cor. xiii. 4 ff.; 2 Cor. vi. 4 ff.; xi. 22 ff.; Rom. i. 29 ff.; 2 Tim. iii. 1 ff.; the antitheses: 2 Cor. iv. 7 ff.; v. 21; the climaxes: 1 Cor. xiii. 1 ff.; 2 Cor. vii. 11; the series of questions: Rom. viii. 31 ff.; 1 Cor. ix. 1 ff.; Gal. iii. 1 ff.; the uses of irony: 1 Cor. iv. 8 ff.; 2 Cor. xi. 16; the accumulation of synonyms: 2 Cor. vi. 14 ff.; Rom. ii. 17 ff.; oxymora: 2 Cor. ii. 2; viii. 2; xii. 10.

The author's Oriental wealth of imagination is shown by the numerous

figures and metaphors borrowed from nature, animate and inanimate, from public and private life, from religious and civil relations, which are so easily drawn out into more extended allegories: *e. g.* Rom. ii. 25 ff.; ix. 20 ff.; xi. 17 ff.; xii. 1, 4; 1 Cor. iii. 2, 6, 9 ff.; v. 6 ff.; ix. 7 ff., 24 ff.; xii. 12 ff.; xiv. 7; xv. 36 ff.; 2 Cor. iii. 2, 13 ff.; v. 1 ff.; x. 4 ff.; Phil. iii. 12; Eph. ii. 19; iv. 13 ff.; vi. 11 ff.; 1 Thess. v. 5 ff.; Col. ii. 14.

For the lack of easy treatment of the course of argument and of clearness of logical deduction, which, however, may in great part be attributed to linguistic difficulties, see Rom. iii. 1 ff.; iv. 1 ff.; vii. 1 ff.; x. 5 ff.; 1 Cor. xii. 1 ff.; 2 Cor. v. 11 ff., etc. Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that we very often have before us in the epistles of Paul not so much a purely intellectual development of doctrine as a spiritual, mystical, and creatively original view of religious facts and their relations: *e. g.* Rom. v. 12 ff.; 1 Cor. xv. 35 ff.; Rom. xi., etc., where the logical proof could not possibly be completed at once and keep pace with the intuitively apprehended idea.

Overloading with parentheses: Rom. i. 1 ff.; 1 Cor. v. 3 f.; Col. i. 9 f.; Eph. i. 3 ff., 13 ff.; ii. 1 ff.; iii. 1 ff.; 1 Tim. i. 3 ff.; Tit. i. 1 ff.; the introductions generally.

A. Rechenberg, *De stylo Pauli epistolico*, L. 1697; J. G. Walch, *De obscuritate epp. P. falso attributa*, Jena, 1732; I. Hoffmann, *De stilo Pauli*, Tüb. 1757; C. L. Bauer, *Logica paulina*, Hal. 1774; idem, *Rhetorica paulina*, Hal. 1782, 3 vols.; J. W. Fuhrmann, *De subtilitate P. in argg. tractandis*, L. 1777; H. T. Tzschirner, *Obs. ad Pauli epp. scriptoris ingenium spectantes*, L. 1800 (*Opusc.*, p. 1 ff.); D. Schulz, *De interpretationis epp. Paul. difficultate*, L. 1807; J. F. Böttcher, *De paronomasia finitimisque figuris P. frequentatis*, L. 1823 f.; Tholuck in the *Studien*, 1835, II.; Wilke, *Neutestl. Rhetorik*, p. 327 ff., 469 ff. [Howson, *Metaphors of St. Paul*, Lond. 1868; A. P. Peabody, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*, Art. *Paul*, Am. ed.; Farrar, *St. Paul*, I., App.]

Paul is supposed to have dictated his epistles (with the exception of that to the Galatians, vi. 11), Rom. xvi. 22, with which cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 21; Col. iv. 18; 2 Thess. iii. 17. Yet these passages do not expressly state that fact, and the amanuenses may have simply copied an autograph original by the author. See C. A. Heumann, *De scribis epp. P.*, Jena, 1742; J. D. Overbeck, *De scribis Pauli*, Lüb. 1759; and in general § 351. Also Laurent, *Neutestl. Studien*, Goth. 1866, p. 4 ff.

77. It is impossible to determine the chronological order of the Pauline Epistles with entire certainty. Our ignorance in this regard is sufficiently explained by the numerous breaks in the narrative of the Acts, which are, nevertheless, so hidden that they are necessarily continually calling forth new hypotheses and new errors. In particular, our uncertainty as regards the true course of the Apostle's life during his last years, and as regards the circumstances which brought about his death, will always present insuperable obstacles to a generally satisfactory solution of this problem. For what one may imagine he has proved is quite incompatible with the point of view of another. Moreover, the question of the genuineness of several of these epistles has become, in modern times, of so much more importance that the more simple solution of the problem just touched upon has fallen quite into the background. For details see the appropriate places. In general it may be remarked, in advance, that Baur and his immediate

followers accept as genuine only four epistles (Romans, Corinthians, Galatians), that most modern critics are agreed in rejecting Ephesians, Timothy, and Titus, and that Colossians and 2 Thessalonians also are suspected by very many. Although we certainly cannot regard the grounds of doubt with respect to some epistles as yet removed, it appears to us still allowable to maintain the counter arguments, and to regard them as not yet decisively rejected; so that meanwhile the history may still be presented on the basis of this assumption.

The genuineness of all the epistles being assumed, there is the greatest difficulty in placing those to Timothy and Titus, and not a little in the distribution of the epistles written while in prison at Cæsarea or Rome. Nor is all settled with respect to Thessalonians and Galatians, so that properly only with respect to Romans and Corinthians is there no dispute.

Cf. § 58, and, beside the works there cited, H. Böttger, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die paul. Briefe*, Heft III. and IV., Gött. 1837; H. A. Schott, *Erörterung wichtiger chronol. Punkte in der Lebensgesch. des Ap. P.*, Jena, 1832; J. F. Köhler, *Versuch über die Abfassungszeit der epist. Schriften im N. T.*, L. 1830; Schrader (§ 58), Pt. I. Comprehensive summary of different opinions in Credner, I. 337.

There are but few modern commentaries on all the Pauline Epistles: J. F. Flatt, 1831 ff., 5 vols.; H. Ewald, *Die* [received as genuine] *Sendschreiben des Ap. P.*, Gött. 1857; idem, *Sieben* [regarded as spurious] *Sendschreiben des Neuen Bundes*, 1870 (among them Ephesians, Timothy, Titus); J. C. C. von Hoffmann, *Die heil. Schr. neuen Test.*, Nördl. 1862 ff., thus far 5 vols., embracing most of the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews included. [Cf. also P. J. Gloag, *Introd. to the Pauline Epp.*, Edin. 1874.] For older works or such as cover other writings of the N. T. as well (De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, and their successors), see below under the History of Exegesis. Special works in the following sections.

5/22 78. In view of the close connection of each and every one of the epistles of Paul with his external circumstances and his apostolic labors, we must necessarily bring an account of the latter into our narrative. After affairs in Jerusalem had been arranged, so far, at least, as to leave him free to enter upon the field to which he desired to devote himself, he hastened to put his hand to the work. After a short tour of visitation among the previously established churches of Asia Minor, he preached for some time in the interior, and soon crossed over into Europe, as if impelled to leave as far as possible behind him the petty hindrances which prejudice and religious narrowness elsewhere placed in his way. In Philippi, in Thessalonica, in Berea, amid care and danger, he collected little companies of believers. Persecution, instead of stopping or intimidating him, urged him on. Thus he came to Athens, disputed there with companies of young men and philosophers, misunderstood by both, yet not wholly without result, and finally devoted himself for a longer time to Corinth. Sylvanus and Timothy had accompanied him in the first part of the journey, and rejoined him in the latter city.

Acts xvi., xvii. 52, 53 A. D. — J. G. Walch, *Acta Pauli philippensia*, in his *Primitia*, p. 185 ff.; cf. several dissertations in the *Bibl. Brem.*, II., V., VI., and *Symbb. litt. Brem.*, II.; J. E. I. Walch, *Diss.*, III. 279 ff.; Hänlein's *Journ.*, X. 843.

G. Olearius, *De gestis P. in urbe Athen.*, and J. L. Schlosser, *De iisdem* (both in Iken's *Thes.*, II.); Altmann, *Melet.*, I. 199; Walch, *Diss.*, III. 211; C. F. Börner, *De disput. Pauli cum Epicureis*, etc., Jena, 1751; C. Iken, *Oratio P. Athenis habita* (*Diss.*, I. 463); A. H. Niemeyer, *Oratio paulina Athenis habita*, Hal. 1805; E. A. C. Slevogt, in Zobel's *Mag.*, II. 267 ff.; J. A. Anspach, *De oratione P. Athenis habita*, Leyd. 1829; F. W. Laufs in the *Studien*, 1850, III.

79. From Corinth were written the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the oldest of the extant Pauline Epistles. The church of Thessalonica, upon which the Apostle had probably been able to bestow his instruction but a short time, had been gathered from among the Gentiles, many of whom had been already prepared for the new doctrine by contact with the Jews. Their surroundings may very likely have been unfavorable and their prosperous growth doubtful, since at the very outset, before any ripeness of perception could be expected, their freedom had been threatened and the rabble stirred up against them. Paul himself had been obliged, in order to secure his own personal safety, to leave the city much sooner than had been his intention. In this state of things it seems natural that his heart should seize upon the first opportunity that offered to communicate with the bereft church, and, by his counsel and comfort, still to be near it. Such was the origin of the first of these Epistles.

Thessalonica (Θεσσαλονίκη, previously Θέρμη), from the time of Alexander a flourishing commercial city on the Thermaic gulf of the Ægean Sea, during the Roman period capital of *Macedonia Secunda*.

On the membership of the church of Thessalonica see 1 Thess. i. 9, ii. 14 and Acts xvii. 4, where an old variant has *σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων*, which is followed by the Vulgate and adopted by Lachmann.

With respect to the length of Paul's stay there, the letter of Acts xvii. 2, compared with 1 Thess. ii. 9, Phil. iv. 16, appears to give too short a period, especially when we consider the Gentiles who were converted from the worship of idols, who certainly did not hear the Apostle in the synagogue. Nor does the text of the historic narrative appear to be opposed to the idea of a longer stay.

A point not wholly clear is the determination of the place of composition of the first Epistle, and the preceding journey of Timothy. The ancient subscription (apparently based upon iii. 2) names Athens as the place and makes Timothy return thence directly to Macedonia. (So according to older Greek exegetes; also Schrader, I. 90, who makes it to have been written not until 58, Köhler not until 66. Cf. Köhler in the *Annalen der Theol.*, 1831, I.; 1834, IV.; and Schneckenburger's *Beiträge*, p. 165.)

But according to i. 7 ff. there were already in existence several churches, not established until after the conversion of the Thessalonians, and it does not seem as if Athens alone could stand for Achaia in this passage. According to ii. 18 a considerable time must have passed since his departure. An

immediate return of Timothy, after he had but just left Macedonia, and a second as speedy journey to Athens is improbable. Paul had very likely, at his departure from Berea, given his companions instructions, before they returned to him, to go again to Thessalonica, while he went on alone to Athens (Acts xvii. 15 = 1 Thess. iii. 2) ; without waiting for them there he went to Corinth, whither finally they brought him news from Macedonia (Acts xviii. 5 = 1 Thess. iii. 6).

Or, we might also make this combination : that Timothy had come to Athens and been sent again to Macedonia, without having brought with him our Epistle. But why so many journeys ? That Sylvanus and Timothy came from Macedonia to Paul at Corinth might be inferred also from 2 Cor. xi. 9.

80. It is therefore not necessary to ask after a special occasion for this Epistle. Particularly is there no sign either of an appeal to the Apostle on any disputed point of faith, or of official adjustment of disturbances that had occurred in the church. Hence the absence of any elaborate course of thought, and the careless ease natural to the letter writer. The remembrance of undeserved sufferings endured in common brings men into warm and brotherly sympathy with one another. It was fitting that the Apostle, who had been longer tested by such trials, should speak the praise of those who had so lately followed his example, and concede to them the place of honor among the confessors of Christ in Macedonia and Achaia. With these friendly greetings are interspersed items of information respecting his own experiences since he had left them. Apostolic exhortations and consolations as connected therewith are at all times fitting and welcome, and even the detailed prediction of the near consummation of things appears rather as the motive of these exhortations and consolations than as formal instruction found necessary for his readers personally. The more particularly Jewish setting of the doctrine may, it is true, not yet have been familiar to them ; to the Apostle it was certainly a still inviolate part of the faith of his youth, and not at all a new revelation which he hastened to present here.

The *λοιπόν*, iv. 1, the usual sign of a near conclusion, at least proves that an exposition of this dogma cannot have been from the first the (or a) chief intent of the whole Epistle.

Still less reasonable is it to infer from v. 19 ff. the presence at Thessalonica of a visionary and fanatical prophetism and of an indifferent rationalism opposed thereto, both of which Paul was obliged to combat. He would not have put off such a matter until the last lines of his epistle, and then only hinted at it.

Neither have we any right to ascribe to the author an absorbing anxiety respecting his official authority and the machinations of the Jews, and then to import into the simple words of the Epistle hidden meanings laboriously sought out. Least of all is any such thing necessary to save the genuineness (§ 82).

81. But these very Jewish hopes, when divorced from the gospel application which the preaching of Christ had combined with them, led the churches that gave themselves up to them into fanaticism and intellectual vagaries of all kinds; nay, even, apparently, to the disturbance of domestic order, which the Christians everywhere else studiously observed. How knowledge of this change came to the Apostle is unknown to us, as well as how much time may have intervened since the first Epistle, when all was known or assumed to be right. Instruction upon the point of doctrine in question and the restoration of it to its essentially practical signification make up the contents of the second Epistle. But far from retracting anything said in the former on account of the abuse of it, it rather takes this opportunity to develop yet more fully than the first, and on another side, the ideas of the Jewish schools, of which the Church had become the heir.

The latter statement is especially justified in view of the fact that, after an explicit restatement of the main fact, *i. e.* the certainty and nearness of the Parousia, the Apostle now makes mention also of the great signs which must precede and prepare the way for it. Among these the coming of Antichrist (with whom imagination busied itself both in the Church and in the Synagogue) is placed in the foreground, ii. 1 ff.; his personality is yet a *μυστήριον*, although his works were already perceptible; ten years later it was so no longer. *Τὸ κατέχον*, ii. 7, is not Elijah, still less Paul himself, but the Roman empire, according to the reckoning of that day the fourth kingdom of Daniel, which was to yield only to demoniacal power. The Apocalypse and all later writers look for and recognize the Antichrist in this empire and at its head. A proof not to be overlooked of the high antiquity of our Epistle; to look for Nero and the Gnosticism of Trajan's time in this passage is less natural.

Greek exegetes and the manuscripts make this Epistle also to have been written at Athens; the Syrians, on the contrary, at Laodicea in Pisidia; later writers (also the *Synopsis* of Pseudo-Athanasius) at Rome, — evidently from the lack of any definite tradition. Modern critics almost unanimously favor Corinth.

For fixing the time of composition we have but two data: the time necessary for the troubles developed in the interim to arise and become known, and the allusion (iii. 2) to Paul's experiences in Corinth.

The notion advocated by Grotius, that the so-called second Epistle is properly the first, and was written from Berea (Ewald, *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, III. 250, and *Paul. Briefe*, p. 17 f.; Laurent, in the *Studien*, 1864, III.; Davidson, *Introduction*; also Baur) is based upon no necessity to be found in the text, and assumes, moreover (i. 4), a great number of Macedonian churches already in existence, and, from ii. 15, a lost epistle. Besides, it would be strange, to say the least, if the Apostle should first have warned against the notion of the nearness of the Parousia, and afterward emphasized the very same thing; while with the present order of the Epistles the supplementary restriction of a hope that before had been expressed in general terms is easily understood. How little reason there is for the transposition is also evident from the fact that the second Epistle can have been regarded by many as spurious.

82. It was only when the relation of the second Epistle to

the first was very superficially apprehended that it could be regarded as flatly contradicting it, and in consequence its genuineness seriously doubted. The remaining arguments by which this doubt might be supported or even extended to the first Epistle are of no greater weight, even though it were not true that arguments based on literary usages can be adduced against each and all of the other writings of the Apostle. Most of these considerations, however, could scarcely have any force even if a powerful main argument formed the basis of the assault. But in fact no such argument exists; the doubt in its widest application is an unreasonable suspicion raised to suit a historical system, and over against the casual obscurities which might give countenance to the suspicion there stand, as positive proofs of the truth of tradition, numerous passages in which the characteristics of the Apostle, mental and otherwise, are exhibited in the most artlessly clear manner.

In the early Church (from Marcion and Irenæus down, for earlier traces are wholly uncertain) both Epistles were generally considered genuine. J. E. C. Schmidt, in his *Bibliothek*, II. 380, and in his *Einleitung*, II. 256 (cf. De Wette, *Einl.*, in the earlier editions, and Kern in the *Tüb. Zeitsch.*, 1839, II.), was the first to find the second in conflict with the first, since, as he says, it puts farther away in the future the (vainly expected) Parousia, etc. For several other arguments see Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1862, III.; 1866, III., where also the latest Dutch criticism is adduced and examined. Cf. also Lipsius in the *Studien*, 1854, IV. Baur (*Paulus*, p. 484 ff.) has shown that the two Epistles are in perfect accord upon this point; cf. also J. G. Reiche, *Authenticæ poster. ep. ad Thess. vindiciæ*, Gött. 1829; L. Pelt, in the *Kieler Mittheilungen*, IV. 2, cf. Guerike, *Beiträge*, p. 92; Köhler, *Abf. Z.*, p. 186; Mayerhoff on Colossians. Baur himself finds several grounds of suspicion with regard to both Epistles: (1) The first is theologically entirely without significance, and is fabricated from the narrative in the Acts with the aid of reminiscences gathered from the Epistles to the Corinthians; (2) it contains certain traces of a later time; (3) both are characterized by apocalyptic notions in many respects unpauline; (4) the second summarizes the first (yet Baur himself has since exactly reversed the chronological relation of the two); (5) moreover, it has this against it, that it speaks plainly itself of forged epistles of Paul. (Cf. *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1855, II.) [This essay is reprinted as an appendix to the 2d vol. of the author's *Paulus*, 2d ed. 1867.]

The moment it can be proved that in the first Epistle the doctrine of the Parousia is not the purpose of the writing (§ 80), and that the second was called forth by existing external circumstances, neither, however, teaching anything which Paul may not have taught before (Less, *Opp.*, I. 278; Flatt, *Opp.*, 409), it is evident that every motive for the forgery of epistles so utterly "meaningless" disappears, and the task must therefore have been undertaken for practice in the Pauline style, which certainly does everywhere unaffectedly appear. *E. g.*, 2 Thess. i. 2 ff., a well-known formula of thanksgiving, not found in the Corinthians; the triad: faith, love, hope, in a unique setting; the other: election, calling, and impartation of the Spirit, likewise, etc. Must the epistles of Paul always be in the didactic tone, and never be friendly greetings? That we have in these Epistles no mere extract from the Acts

is proved by the difficulty of reconciling the two (§ 79) ; vivid impressions and recollections are rendered naturally. 1 Thess. i. 7 ff. is explained by the simple fact that Paul himself had been the herald of their praise, so that now the whole world (from Berea through Athens to Corinth) could tell the story. In ch. ii. 14 f. Paul is at liberty to speak of persecutions of Christians in Judea without mentioning himself as persecutor simply because he has now in mind the fact that he himself has since been the persecuted one, — not, it is true in Judea, but the oftener elsewhere (2 Cor. xi. 24), — to which fact he refers, ii. 16, in speaking of his preaching to the Gentiles. The subject of this chapter is not the destruction of Jerusalem, but threatened divine judgments, indications of which were already to be noticed, which were a part of the gospel of the Parousia, and therefore not far distant. The expression *πάντων ἐναντίον* is explained by Acts xviii. 2, 13. The doctrine of the last things becomes notably clarified in the mind of Paul with the lapse of time ; the difference between 1 and 2 Cor. is greater than between Thess. and the former. For every “unpauline” expression the concordance shows ten Pauline, and no single Epistle has so few *ἀπὸς λεγόμενα* as this (Zeller, *Jahrb.*, 1843, p. 508). 2 Thess. iii. 17 would only be troublesome provided other reasons warranted doubt. But it may be supposed that Paul had already written many epistles (§ 73) and *σημεῖον* is not necessarily an “attestation of genuineness,” but may refer with friendly emphasis to a custom of the writer, as if it were “this seal and subscription together with my hand and heart.” Finally, the reference in ii. 2 is doubtless not to a forged epistle, but to the first, which had been misunderstood ; “as that I myself had taught you” that which causes your anxiety (§ 140) ; cf. in general W. Grimm, in the *Studien*, 1850, IV.

Exegetical and introductory aids : De Salthen, *De epp. ad Thess., Cor., et Rom.*, Reg. 1753 ; Böttger's *Beiträge*, III. 18 ; H. A. Schott, *Isagoge in utramque P. ad Thess. ep.*, Jena, 1830 ; idem, *Ueber die Zeit der Abfassung*, etc. (*Annalen der Theol.*, 1833, I.) ; J. J. Burgerhoudt, *De coetus chr. Thess. ortu fatisque et prioris ep. consilio*, etc., Leyd. 1825 ; J. A. Turretin, *Comm. theoret. pract. in Epp. ad Thess.*, Bas. 1739 ; P. J. Müller, *Annot. ad epp. ad Thess.*, Arg. 1784, uncompleted ; G. Mayer, *Briefe an die Gal. und Thess.*, Vienna, 1788 ; F. A. W. Krause, *Briefe an die Phil. und Thess.*, Frankf. 1790 ; T. C. Tychsen, *Ep. ad Gal., Eph., et Thess.*, Gött. 1823 (ed. 3 is a part of Koppe's *N. T.*) ; J. F. Flatt, *Vorlesungen über die Br. an die Phil. Kol. Thess.*, Tüb. 1829 ; L. Pelt, *Epp. P. ad Thess.*, Gryph. 1830 ; H. A. Schott, *Ep. ad Thess. et Gal.*, L. 1834 ; A. Koeh, *Comm. über die Br. an die Thess.*, B. 1849, Pt. I. ; G. Lünemann (in Meyer [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1880]), 1850 ; J. C. C. Hofmann, *Das N. T.*, 1862, Pt. II. — Pelt gives a catalogue of the older special commentaries.

Special treatises on 2 Thess. ii. : Koppe, Gött. 1776 ; Nösselt, Halle, 1779 ; Seger, Halle, 1791 ; Tychsen, in Henke's *Mag.*, VI. ; Heydenreich, in Winer's *Journal*, VIII., and many others. On the *κατέχων* : C. G. Beyer, L. 1824 ; Vömel, in the *Zeitsch. f. luth. Theol.*, 1866, IV.

[Add H. Olshausen, Pt. IV. of his *Comm.* on the *N. T.*, *Gal., Eph., Col., Thess.*, E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1851 ; C. A. Außerlen and C. J. Riggenbach, in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, Bielef. 1859 ; trans. by Dr. John Lillie, in Vol. VIII. of Am. ed. of Lange's *Comm.*, N. Y. 1869 ; J. A. Möller, in De Wette's *Exeg. Handb. N. T.*, 3d ed. L. 1864 ; B. Jowett, *Epp. of St. Paul to the Thess., Gal., and Rom.*, Lond. 1855 ; A. S. Paterson, *Comm. on 1 Thess., James, and 1 John*, Edinb. 1857 ; C. J. Ellicott, *St. Paul's Epp. to the Thess.*, Lond. 1858, 3d ed. 1866 ; repr. Andover, 1865 ; J. Lillie, *Lectures on the Epp. of Paul to the Thess.*, N. Y. 1860 ; John Eadie, *Comm. on the Gk. Text of the Epp. of Paul to the Thess.*, Lond. 1877 ; A. J. Mason, *1 and 2 Thess. and 1 Pet.*, in Ellicott's *N. T. Comm.*, 1879 ; H. Cowles, *The Shorter Epp.*, N. Y. 1879.]

83. After a stay of a year and a half, the fruits of which will come to our notice later, Paul left Corinth to return to Asia. He took this time the sea route, and during a brief interruption of the journey scattered the seed of the Gospel in Ephesus, in a soil to all appearance very fruitful. He then visited Jerusalem with devout intent and joyful in the sense of success, and returned, rich in uplifting experience and strengthened in his faith in his mission, to the bosom of the church at Antioch, which had already twice sent him forth into the wide world with its blessing. Thenceforth there was no more rest for him. Wherever a new door was opened to his activity, he went, first to Ephesus, the capital of the Roman province of Asia, and the centre at which then met, in strange commingling, the manifold forms of faith and superstition of the eastern and western Gentile world. The journey thither he made by way of the previously founded Galatian churches.

Acts xviii., together with the expositors thereon, and the introduction to the Epistles to the Corinthians. Period, A. D. 54-57. J. G. Altmann, *De actis Pauli apud Corinthios* (Melet., II. 1 ff.). Cf. § 93.

Galatia, a district in the interior of the peninsula of Asia Minor, obtained its name from the Celts (Galli) who settled there in the beginning of the third century B. C. (Livy, xxxviii. 16; Justin. xxv. 2; Strabo, xii. 566); it became tributary to the Romans, under native tetrarchs, in 189 B. C.; a province in 26 B. C. (Dio Cass. liii. 26). Cf. G. Wernsdorf, *De republ. Galatarum*, Nor. 1743; E. A. Schulze, *De Galatis*, Frankf. a. V. 1756 f.; L. I. Rückert, *Exeg. Mag.*, p. 97. It has been asserted by Wieseler in his Comm., and others, that the Galatians were really Tentons. [Meyer, *Introd. to Comm. on Gal.*]

The Galatian princes had recently ruled over adjoining regions also, especially portions of Lycaonia; but these could not be called Galatian in the time of the Apostles, since that kingdom had been dissolved; and the *περίχωρος Δέρβης* (Acts xiv. 6) is not Galatia.

The founding of the Galatian churches falls at the earliest in the time of Acts xvi. 6; c. A. D. 52.

84. But here, to his astonishment, he found matters in a wholly different state from that in which he had left them and expected to find them now. The churches were mostly made up, it is true, of Gentile Christians; but the Jewish element was not wanting, and although, in the first moments of religious enthusiasm, many an adherent of the Old Covenant had gladly committed himself to the hopes presented in the preaching of the Apostle, upon cool reflection they might appear doubtful to him in more than one point. But such doubts, springing from inherited notions, must have been greatly strengthened when a definite and zealous attack was made upon the innovating preaching, which perhaps had won but not convinced them. And precisely this had been done in the mean time, since the previous visit of the Apostle. Emissaries of the Pharisaic party had alarmed the consciences that

were still Jewish, and through them had led astray also the part of the churches that had formerly been heathen. Personal attacks upon Paul were not wanting, but even without these it could not have been difficult to commend to beginners in the faith the more outward and tangible at the expense of the more inner and spiritual.

Geographical names for this history are wholly lacking. The principal cities of the country (therefore, no doubt, of the Church also) were Ancyra and Pessinus.

The constitution of the Galatian churches is disputed. That Gentile Christians formed at least the majority, and that to them the Epistle is written, is clear from Gal. iv. 8, v. 2 ff., vi. 12, where the readers are regarded as uncircumcised from the first. In the *ἐναρξήμενοι*, iii. 3, there lies the thought of the priority of Christian conviction in their minds to Jewish, and the vigor of tone, rising even to indignation (i. 6 ff.; iii. 1 ff.; v. 7 ff.), is explained by the fact that among such a class of believers the present tendency was surprising and strange. Jewish Christians Paul treated differently. That there were Jewish Christians there also is not to be inferred from iii. 2, where *ἔργα* may be mentioned hypothetically; iii. 13, iv. 3 are to be taken in the sense that Paul regards his readers as having subjected themselves to the Law willingly, and therefore speaks communicatively, as a Jew to Jews. Even the argumentation from Scripture is conceivable to Gentiles. Nevertheless, Jewish elements must be assumed in the churches, since otherwise the ascendancy of Judaizing influences, nay, even any interest on the part of Judaism in working against Paul in this place, would be inconceivable. Cf. v. 9. Moreover, the narrative in ii. 11 ff. only obtains its true signification for the Epistle upon the assumption that Peter is introduced as the representative or type of certain Galatian Jewish Christians, and that in his conduct and its rebuke Paul intended that they should see themselves. (Against this view, Hilgenfeld, *Der Galaterbrief*, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1860, III.)

The Epistle does not say that the Judaizers were foreigners (i. 7; iv. 17; v. 10 ff.). Nor is it to be inferred from these passages or from iii. 1, v. 7, that Paul did not know his opponents. Yet the supposition that they came from Palestine is one that is warranted by allusions to similar circumstances (ii. 4, 12) and by other events (2 Cor. iii. 1, etc.). But to infer from v. 12, vi. 13, that his opponents had but recently circumcised themselves, and therefore were not native-born Jews, is to sacrifice psychological necessity to philological appearance.

85. That Paul did his utmost during this visit to oppose the movement against himself and his gospel; that he sought to strengthen the doubting, to win back deserters, to confute opponents; that he undertook the last with the greater earnestness in consequence of his just indignation at this insolent and malicious invasion of his own field of labor, which had been assured to him by agreement with the so-called chief Apostles, — all this may be readily supposed. What he may have accomplished immediately we know not. It was most likely little enough, since he left Galatia without having brought the matter to a satisfactory issue, and, arrived at Ephesus, carried on with the pen a controversy which he had not been able to finish by word of mouth. This is at least the most natural

and most prevalent view of the date and origin of the Epistle to the Galatians.

That Paul had already twice labored in Galatia in person, the second time under unfavorable circumstances, appears clearly from i. 9, iv. 13; only doubtfully from v. 3, 21. The idea that the trouble did not arise until after the last visit is to be rejected, because Paul says nothing whatever of having received information from a third party. The *ταχέως*, i. 6, cannot signify a hasty movement (which would have been impossible), but must indicate a transformation (naturally developed between 52 and 56) which had come to the knowledge of the Apostle suddenly and which astonished him. This is shown by iii. 1, iv. 16, 19, only that in the mind of Paul his writing and the experiences and endeavors that had preceded it are connected, even in time. The Epistle is so written throughout that the Galatians could not have understood it at all if Paul had not immediately before been discussing the same matters with them by word of mouth. Hofmann, on the contrary (*N. T.*, II. 1, p. 233), supposes that the Epistle was occasioned by a letter of inquiry from the Galatian churches.

The date of composition was early regarded as a difficult problem. The subscription mentions Rome, and so many since Theodoret; some regard it as the latest of all, while Marcion placed it first, and many moderns have followed him. The difficulty was mostly in the combination of the journeys to Jerusalem mentioned in i. 18, ii. 1 with those in the Acts. When ii. 1 is identified with Acts xv. (§ 65), the dispute is settled. See Oeder, *Conject.*, p. 455; J. S. Semler, *De tempore quo scr. est ep. ad Gal.*, Hal. 1768; J. C. Fischer, *De tempore, etc.*, Longos. 1808; Keil, in the *Analekten*, III. 2; idem, *De definiendo tempore itineris P. hieros.*, L. 1798, and in Gabler's *Journ. f. auserl. Lit.*, III. 5; Köhler, *Abfassungszeit*, p. 1 ff.; C. W. Niemeyer, *De tempore, etc.*, Gött. 1827; Ulrich in the *Studien*, 1836, II.; and the chronological works cited in § 58. [Conybe and Howson, II. 135; Lightfoot, *Comm. on Gal.*; Davidson, *Introduction*, II. 292 ff.]

86. The tone in which this Epistle was written is precisely that just described, — that of a man who can scarcely understand an event which has taken a course so wholly different from that which he supposed he had faithfully and devotedly given it. Surprise and discouragement are the first feelings which he expresses; a personal justification, or more properly a defense of his disputed authority, the first thing which he thoroughly carries out. None shall revile his apostolic preaching, which had been committed to him by God himself, and recognized by those who were looked upon as the pillars of the Church; nay, even, in case of need, had already been victoriously defended against them. This preaching alone, which finds justification through faith, and not through works, can be true, if Christ himself is not to appear as a mediator of sin. Then he repeats, in short and concise sentences, to the novice doubtless often obscure, but to the instructed and to his readers, from whom he had but just been separated, easily intelligible, the gospel of redemption and faith, of the true relation of the Old and New Covenants, of the bondage to the Law and the sonship to God, of true and false freedom, and

beyond the earnestness of teaching recovers also the hearty tone of fatherly love, which was wanting at the beginning.

The Epistle certainly invites, by its transparent arrangement, the attempt to make a schematic division, and to separate an apologetic, a dogmatic, and a practical part, a proceeding which may be useful for a summary; a psychological exegesis should not attempt to find its way amid the emotions of the soul by means of the arts of dialectics. (J. M. Lorentz, *Nexus ep. ad Gal. in tabula propon.*, Arg. 1747.) Cf. C. E. Caspari, *Das Vor-Evangelium*, Strassb. Beiträge, V.; Holsten, *Inhalt und Gedankengang des Br. an die Gal.*, 1859, in his *Petrus und Paulus*, p. 239 ff.

Exegetical helps: C. G. Hofmann, *Introd. in lectionem epp. ad Gal. et Col.*, L. 1750; J. P. Mynster, *Eint. in d. Br. an die Gal.* (*Opusc.*, p. 49 f.); H. A. Schott, *Isag. hist. crit. in ep. ad Gal.*, Jena, 1829; A. Barrau, *But de l'épître aux Galates*, Mont. 1842; J. C. Rieu, *Analyse*, etc., P. 1829.

Commentaries: I. J. Breithaupt, Halle, 1702; J. van der Waeyen, *Varia sacra*, p. 1 ff.; C. T. Seidel, Halle, 1757; Cramer's *Beiträge*, I. 112; A. Struensee, Flensb. 1764; J. S. Semler, Hal. 1779; Corrodi's *Beiträge*, V. 125; F. A. W. Krause, L. 1788; G. Mayer (§ 82); J. B. Carpzov, Helmst. 1794; S. F. N. Morus, *Acroases in epp. ad Gal. et Eph.*, L. 1795; Henke's *N. Mag.*, II. 1; C. G. Hensler, *Der Br. an d. Gal. u. d. erste Br. Petri*, L. 1805; E. Borger, Leyd. 1807; *Das Sendschreiben an die Gal. u. Johannis erster Br.*, Neust. 1827; G. B. Winer, L. 1829, ed. 3; H. E. G. Paulus, *Lehrbriefe an die Gal. u. Röm.*, Heid. 1831; L. I. Rückert, L. 1833; C. S. Matthies, Greifsw. 1833; L. Usteri, Zür. 1833; Schott (§ 82); F. L. Zschokke, Halle, 1834; P. A. Sardinoux, *Commentaire*, etc., Val. 1837; F. Windischmann, Mayence, 1834; C. F. A. Fritzsche, *Opp.*, p. 158 ff.; A. Hilgenfeld, L. 1852; C. Wieseler, Gött. 1859; G. W. Matthias, Cassel, 1865. [See also the appropriate portions of the commentaries of Olshausen, De Wette, and Meyer; also Schmoller, in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, VIII. 1862, E. tr. N. Y. 1870; Ewald, *Die Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus*, 1857, p. 52 ff.; J. C. C. Hofmann, *N. T. Comm.*, I. 1, 1863, 2d ed. 1872; Reithmayr, Mun. 1865; Vömel, 1865; Brandes, 1869; A. Barnes, *2 Cor. and Gal.*, N. Y. 1839; John Brown, *Exposition of the Ep. of Paul to the Gal.*, Edinb. and N. Y. 1853; S. H. Turner, N. Y. 1856; Jowett, *Thess., Gal., and Rom.*, I. 2d ed. Lond. 1859; Lightfoot, Lond. 1866, 5th ed. 1877; Andover, 1870; Ellicott, Lond. 1854, 4th ed. 1867, Andover, 1867; Eadie, Edinb. 1869; J. Venn, Lond. 1878; Cowles, *Shorter Epp.*, N. Y. 1879; Schaff, N. Y. 1882.]

On the first half of the Epistle: J. M. Emmerich, Str. 1779; D. C. Grimm, Annab. 1782; T. J. A. Schütze, Gera, 1784; F. A. Stroth, in the *Rep.*, IV.; G. Hermann, L. 1832; E. Filhol, Str. 1833.

On ch. ii. see above, § 65 f. — On the passage iii. 20 the literature is so vast that we prefer to abstain from all citation. [See Meyer, *in loc.*]

87. In Ephesus, we are told, Paul remained into the third year, and made known the message of salvation with such effect that not only was the church there brought into a state of great prosperity, but new churches were formed in many cities throughout the whole province, partly through his own exertions, and partly also, no doubt, through those of his pupils. Yet there are plain indications that this stay at Ephesus must have been at one time interrupted by a long absence. This must have been caused by another journey to Europe, upon which the Apostle went first to the island of Crete, and thence, after laying the foundations of several churches, to his beloved

Corinth, which, however, had likewise already gone astray. From Corinth he went farther to the north, and we lose track of him for this time in Illyria. The return, of which no account is preserved, he doubtless made by the shortest way, which would be across through the northern provinces, visiting the Macedonian churches on the way, and perhaps seeing Ephesus again toward the end of the winter.

Acts xix. 10. Time, 57-59. — The course of the journey here assumed, which has already been pointed out by others (Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1830, III. 614; J. G. Müller, *De tribus itineribus P. Corinthum susceptis*, Bas. 1831; Wieseler, *Chron.*, p. 233, and many others; cf. W. Grimm, in the literary supplement of the *Allg. Kirchenzeitung*, 1854, No. 53), is made out from the following data (see my article on the so-called second imprisonment of Paul in the *Strassb. Revue de Théol.*, 1851, II. 150 ff.): when Paul wrote to the Corinthians he had already been with them twice (2 Cor. xii. 14; xiii. 1), the second time only for a short period (1 Cor. xvi. 7), and under unpleasant circumstances (2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 21); for this second journey there is no place except within the Ephesian triennium. (Against this view, Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, II.) [Conyb. and Howson, II. 26 ff.]

The direction of the journey is clear not only from the Pastoral Epistles (whose genuineness is disputed), but also from undoubted passages. With their aid we are able to understand the relation between the Apostle Paul and Apollos. The latter had left Ephesus before Paul arrived there (Acts xix. 1), and gone to Corinth (1 Cor. i. 12; iii. 4), where he taught for a long time, and where, according to our combination, Paul became acquainted with him. From Corinth he returned to Ephesus, where he was when Paul wrote to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 12). On this return he may have taken the Epistle to Titus from Corinth to Crete (Tit. iii. 13). For further see §§ 88, 90.

88. So far as external circumstances are concerned, we might regard as one fruit of this journey the Epistle to Titus, respecting whose date and origin opinions have long been divided. It would then have been written at Corinth, and brought to Crete by Apollos, who just about that time removed to Ephesus. We read in the Epistle that Titus had been left upon the island to establish more firmly the work only begun by Paul, and especially to introduce into the churches a fixed order of ministry and spiritual oversight. This gave occasion to enumerate the qualities of those who might be called to occupy prominent positions as pastors and overseers, or after the Jewish manner to become elders, — how they must be of blameless walk in life and free from all immorality, in order that they might be able to lead others by precept and example, and, moreover, qualified to maintain sound doctrine against every error, both of the understanding and of the heart.

Of the life of Titus there is only known so much as may be inferred from Gal. ii. 3, 4; 2 Cor. *passim* (§ 100 f.); 2 Tim. iv. 10; and from our Epistle. The Acts are silent respecting him. An apocryphal biography is found in

Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, Vol. II. Cf. J. G. Walch, *De Tito viro apostolico* (*Misc.*, p. 708).

We assign this Epistle and that next to be discussed to this position not so much on any decisive ground as in accordance with a scheme of events which is perhaps altogether too hazardous. Doubt of the genuineness of both is daily becoming certainty in the minds of more and more, and the only refuge still left their defenders is a hypothesis long since recognized as unfounded. The enumeration of the many possible and impossible combinations formerly made in order to bring the three especially so-called Pastoral Epistles within the known or unknown part of the life of Paul, is, therefore, in view of their recognized insufficiency, unnecessary. Should we be obliged to pass like judgment upon our own scheme (cf. §§ 90, 127) we should regard that fact as a decisive proof of their spuriousness. Meanwhile, it will at least do no harm if we attempt to present the subject upon the assumption that the question is not yet finally decided.

Exegetical literature (beside that cited in § 91): G. Van den Es, *Pauli ad Tit. ep. cum ejusdem ad Tim. epp. composita*, Leyd. 1819. — Commentaries: J. J. Breithaupt, 1703; J. Fecht, 1714; J. L. v. Mosheim, 1779; J. P. Beyckert, 1766; C. G. Kuinöl, 1788.

F. Woken, *Epitome theol. e Pauli ep. ad Titum*, L. 1727.

89. Yet objections of many kinds have been raised against this Epistle: that Paul could not, in his time, have written all that is found in it; that it gives the picture of a later generation and of later institutions and doctrinal opinions; nay, even that the language has a strange sound, not like the accustomed speech of the Apostle. These considerations have seemed to many of sufficient weight to declare the Epistle forged. Since the same critics treat in like manner still other Epistles of Paul, of which we shall not speak until later, we prefer to undertake the examination of them all together when we come to these latter. Yet it may be admitted at the outset, in regard to that now before us, that the somewhat grave tone which is manifested throughout, in view of the intimate relations in which we think of the Apostle as being with his friends, may well appear strange; no less also the fact that he should have found it necessary in a private letter to Titus to say things which are self-evident, and which, under the relations presupposed, must certainly immediately before have been the subject of conversation between them; nay even must already have been often put into operation by them in concert. Our surprise at this may, perhaps, disappear on the view that Paul may have considered it necessary to furnish his representative with a kind of official instructions and authority for his credentials among the churches; more simply and surely, however, if it be borne in mind that the Apostle took up his pen upon every opportunity, and that in his view an important matter could never be too often enforced.

On objections drawn from language, combating of heresies, and allusion to ecclesiastical institutions of a later time, see §§ 128–130.

With respect to the address, it is to be remembered that the Oriental style is, in general, more formal than ours, and that, under the influence of the gospel spirit, this formality became, instead of a mere civility, a kind of confession or prayer, as is the case also in later Judaism and even in Islam. The brightest and most cordial of Paul's Epistles begin with solemn, even cumbrous phrases. Credner objects to this introduction alone. Against him C. F. Blau, *De genuina eorum verborum indole quibus P. ep. ad Titum præfatur*, Longos. 1846.

Otherwise, special objection is raised only to i. 10 ff., where the author is said to have applied to the Jews, in an unseemly way, a popular metrical witticism on the Cretans. But ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης shows plainly that the reference is to the native inhabitants themselves, who, according to vss. 13, 14, are to be turned from the useless Jewish fables, an end which, from the known character of the people (vs. 12), was certainly not to be attained without energetic action; αὐτοὶ must necessarily denote the majority of the people and of the churches.

90. Yet graver doubts than those in reference to the Epistle just mentioned are raised against the so-called first to Timothy, the insertion of which into the otherwise known history of our Apostle is impossible even by way of conjecture. The Epistle contains really but a single specification of the temporal and local circumstances of its composition, and this is exactly such a one as appears perversely to oppose every arrangement capable of historical proof. If the other grounds of doubt as to its genuineness were insuperable, this circumstance would afford a decisive confirmation of them, and render the trouble of a new investigation unjustifiable. Meanwhile it seems to us that this is as yet by no means fully established, and therefore, while acknowledging that there is adequate ground for opposing views, we hazard the conjecture that the Epistle, its genuineness being assumed, is to be placed in the immediate neighborhood of the one just discussed. The similarity between the two is such that evidently the same needs must have furnished the occasion for them, the same mood dictated them, and the same pen written them. Perhaps, therefore, from Corinth, or on the return journey thither, or in Illyria, and detained for the time longer than he expected, the Apostle sent to Timothy instructions for the management of the Ephesian Church.

Timothy of Lystra, son of a Gentile father and a Jewish mother (Acts xvi. 1 ff.), and with her early won to Christianity, accompanied the Apostle on his first journey to Europe (Acts xvi.-xviii.; Thess.; §§ 78, 79). There we lose track of him until we find him at Ephesus, and up to the time of the Epistles to the Corinthians (Acts xix., xx.; § 94; cf. Rom. xvi. 21).—Certainty as to his subsequent career depends upon the judgment passed upon Colossians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Hebrews. H. Witsius, *Vita Timothei* (Misc., II. 438); J. G. Lange, *De Tim. episcopo ephesino*, L. 1755.

With reference to the date, see beside §§ 88, 128, still other schemes: J. F. Gruner, *De tempore scr. ep. P. ad Tim. prioris*, Halle, s. a.; H. E. G. Paulus, *De tempore*, etc., Jena, 1799; A. Curtius, *De tempore*, etc., B. 1828.

The data for fixing the time are found in i. 3, iii. 14, and iv. 13. Paul intended soon to return to Ephesus; this indisputably contradicts the representation in Acts xx. It need not be said that a tour from Ephesus through Crete, Corinth, Illyria, and Macedonia, back to Ephesus, might, in its last stage, be spoken of by the traveller as a journey to Macedonia, even if he were yet in Corinth with his face directed northward. In the company of Paul at this time there must have been Tychicus and Artemidorus, both Ephesians (the first certainly, Acts xx. 4; cf. xxi. 29; the second probably, from the name). These, at a later period of the tour, while he himself would go to Nicopolis, *i. e.* to Illyria (Rom. xv. 19), where Titus was again to meet him, Paul desired (Tit. iii. 12) to return by way of Crete to Ephesus, whither, according to the present scheme, they may have taken our Epistle (1 Tim.) with them.

91. These instructions are more detailed than those given to Titus, but in many respects essentially the same. As in that case, the Apostle is possessed with the idea that danger was menacing the Church through the illusions of a philosophy which dealt in mysteries, and was deceptive to the understanding and destructive to morals, to which his attention had been called even while in Ephesus. As in the former Epistle, there are recommendations to prudence in the choice of presidents of congregations and church officers. Then follow directions for the holding of public religious services, for the regular administration of the charitable arrangements established in the church, and for the maintenance of proper discipline among all the members thereof; finally, repeated encouragements of the beloved disciple to manly strength in the external relations of his important position, to conscientious fidelity in the difficult duties of his office, and to continual warfare for a cause whose friends had long reposed so high hopes in him.

Exegetical literature on all three Pastoral Epistles: Commentaries by Paul Anton, 1753 ff., 4 Pts.; A. L. C. Heydenreich, 1826 ff., 2 Pts.; one in Modern Greek, entitled *Συνέκδημος ιερατικός*, etc., Malta, 1835; M. J. Mack, 1835; C. S. Matthies, 1840; J. E. Huther, 1850 [in Meyer's *N. T. Comm.*, E. tr. T. & T. Clark]; A. Wiesinger, 1850. [E. tr. in Olshausen's *N. T. Comm.*, VI., N. Y. 1858. Also Ewald, *Sieben Sendschreiben des N. B.*, 1870; Beck, ed. Lindenmeyer, 1879; Holtzmann, 1880; especially Ellicott, 2d ed. Lond. 1861.]

On the two Epistles to Timothy: J. L. v. Mosheim, 1755; G. E. Leo, 1837, 1850, 2 Pts.

On the first to Timothy: A. C. Fleischmann, 1791; J. A. L. Wegscheider, 1810.

On the second: J. B. Rembowski, 1752 [Bahnsen, 1876].

92. Beside the grounds of suspicion which criticism has brought forward against this Epistle, and against the other to Timothy and that to Titus in common, which are to be considered elsewhere, it is urged against this one in particular that it is devoid of all character and spirit of its own; is a labored mechanical compilation from the two just mentioned,

from which it borrows both its material and its expression, without independence, without order, and without purpose; and that there can, by no means, be recognized in it the hand and power of a writer who, distinguished as he is for richness of thought and language, entitles us to expect quite different things from him, and the heart and mind of a teacher, who would not have expressed himself to an intimate friend in so constrained, incoherent, and obscure a manner, so devoid of all the charms natural to such circumstances. These charges may doubtless appear to be well founded to a certain extent, and it may be that the reader does not gain from this Epistle the same spiritual satisfaction as from others by the same author; but this particular impression can have no decisive weight in the scale of criticism, since the mood of a writer is not necessarily equally happy at all times. It will only be when the objective grounds of doubt have been able to establish themselves that these subjective ones can be allowed to support them.

The criticism which was formerly (§ 128) directed against this Epistle alone proceeded on the basis of the genuineness of the second to Timothy and that to Titus. Baur has shown, not only by pointing out their kinship in form and contents, but also, from his point of view, by their obvious similar reference to particular facts of the second century, that all three epistles belong together in origin and essence. When, nevertheless, admitting that the other two are less suspicious in themselves, he lays down the proposition (*Paulus*, 499) that the present 1 Timothy will always be the "betrayal of its spurious brothers," we may fitly turn the statement about, and say that so long as no decisive and palpable proofs of the contrary are presented the two which are in and of themselves less suspicious ought always to afford protection to the third which is more so.

Moreover, Baur had started in his criticism upon a road which led him farther than he had suspected or intended. In his first discussion he still treated the rest of the Pauline Epistles as genuine. But he was sharp-sighted enough to see afterward that the two swept away by 1 Timothy on the ground of similar allusions unmasked a whole series of "spurious brothers," beside them, and he found himself obliged to seek for grounds of suspicion (*Thess.*, *Phil.*, *Philemon*) in order to justify a skepticism which had originated prior to, and not in consequence of, investigation, and which therefore had not grown upon its natural soil.

Especially insisted upon is i. 11 ff., the mention of the mission and former attitude of Paul, as overdrawn and unnatural (*Rom.* i. 5; *Gal.* ii. 7; 2 *Cor.* iv. 1; 1 *Thess.* ii. 4, etc., for the first, 1 *Cor.* xv. 9; *Gal.* i. 13; cf. *Eph.* iii. 8, for the second, give warrant for the usage, and the expression *ἐκτρομα* is much stronger); in ii. 2 an allusion to a plurality of contemporaneous Roman emperors and to frequent persecutions of the Christians (the latter were surely no infrequent thing even to the genuine Paul, 2 *Cor.* i. 6; xi. 23 ff., etc., aside from all that is related in the Acts and other Epistles; and what objection is there to supposing allusion to be made either to past emperors or to the members of the reigning family, or even to other kings, with whom Paul himself had often come in contact? Cf. *Rom.* xiii. 1 ff., *ἀρχοντες*); in v. 18 is a quotation from *Lk.* x. 7 with the designation *γραφῇ* (why not in both places a proverb, or in the former a reminiscence of a principle commended to the disciples by Jesus himself, cf. *Acts* xx. 35? *γραφῇ*).

refers only to the first quotation). The presence of heretics at Ephesus is said to be contradicted by Acts xx. 29, 30. But have we there more genuine words of Paul? and the tears of vs. 31, — do they mean nothing?

For more important points see §§ 128–130. The (actual) confusion in the course of thought is not so much an evidence of deliberate fabrication as of natural haste under the pressure of circumstances, v. 22 ff.

93. Upon his return to Ephesus from this trip to the west the Apostle found spiritual work in abundance, and even personal danger of his life, during the latter part of his stay in the great commercial city of the Gentiles, in which the growing influence of the gospel preaching had already begun to make itself felt. But all this did not prevent his retaining his interest in the state of his more distant churches. First among these in his affections and in importance stood that of Corinth. It was at this time, even considering its external relations alone, the most important in Greece, since, being situated at the seat of government and the centre of trade, it presented all the advantages and disadvantages of a great metropolis for the dissemination of both truth and error. The last visit there had not been such as to inspire the feeling of complete satisfaction respecting the spiritual and moral development of the church; on the contrary, what we learn of it afterward seems to show that Christian living was on the decline there, since it is scarcely conceivable that Paul should not have been able to remove, in part at least, upon the spot, such abuses as he is still obliged to censure in the epistles, if he had already met with them.

I take the opportunity here to state explicitly my opinion that we are to regard the residence of Paul in Ephesus in this light, — that he made this city the central point of his operations, because, both by its geographical position and its connections, it was better suited to the purpose than Antioch, if he was to maintain efficient oversight over the mission field already under cultivation. In Acts xviii. 22, therefore, is recorded a formal farewell to Antioch; the idea to be obtained from xix. 10 is not that of a permanent residence, but that of a new centre of apostolic activity. In Rom. xv. 23 the third and last fixed point of this history is presented.

On the external circumstances at Ephesus, of which some are described with great vividness (Acts xix. 21 ff.), but others are still obscure (1 Cor. xv. 32; 2 Cor. i. 8 ff.), see J. G. Altmann, *De actis P. apud Ephesios*, in his *Meletem.*, II. 35 ff.; Deyling, *Obs.*, 362; M. Krenkel, *Die Θρησκεία des P.*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1866, IV.; older essays on the subject in Menthen's *Thes.*, II. 574; in Iken's *Thes.*, II. 850, 875; J. Marck, *Diss. ad N. T.*, p. 690, etc. [Howson, *Scenes from the Life of St. P.*, ch. viii., Lond. 1866, Am. Tract Soc., Bost. 1867; Conyb. and Howson, II. 27 ff., 69 ff.]

On Corinth and its condition in general see N. Nonnen (H. Wilckens), *Specimen antiq. Corinth.*, Brem. 1747; also in Oelrich's *Opp.*, I.; J. E. I. Walch, *Antiquitates corr.*, Jena, 1761; G. C. Storr, *Notitiæ historice epp. ad Corr. interpretationi inservantes*, Tüb. 1788, and in his *Opp.* [Wagner, *Rerum Corinth. specimen*, Darm. 1824; Barth, *Corinthiorum commercii et mercaturæ historiæ particula*, B. 1844; Rangabes, *Ἑλληνικά*, II. 287–314; Semisch, *Paulus in Corinth*, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsch. Theol.*, 1867, p. 193; Conyb. and H., I. 409.]

On the latest visit to Corinth see § 87. The churches of Corinth and Ephesus were closely connected, not simply by general and external relations, but by various prominent individuals. Among these were, in particular, Apollos (§§ 68, 87, 98, 153), also Aquila and Priscilla, on whom see the expositors on Acts xviii.; cf. Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 19; G. G. Zeltner, *De Priscilla*, Altd. 1709.

94. These circumstances gave occasion for an earnest correspondence, partly by letter, partly by messenger, and finally for another visit. Immediately upon the former visit followed a first epistle; when and where we do not know, since it has been lost. As to its contents, only general inferences can be made; according to which it must have been in part, at least, a sharp lecture on morals. Then there came to Paul new and painful information through Corinthian Christians, who doubtless had come to Ephesus on business of their own. This caused the sending of Timothy to Achaia. The result is not recorded, but it probably did not at all accomplish the desired end. While he was on the way, messengers came from Corinth with a letter to Paul; their mission was to obtain advice upon controverted points of all kinds, but they were able also to draw a woful picture of the state of the church in general. This letter has not been preserved, but from the answer of the Apostle, still extant, and known under the misnomer of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, it is easy to reconstruct its contents and those of the oral account that accompanied it.

The lost First Epistle (whose existence and loss are denied by many, J. G. Müller, § 87, etc.), 1 Cor. v. 9. — Journey of the household of Chloe, 1 Cor. i. 11. — Journey of Timothy, iv. 17; xvi. 10. Letter of the Corinthians, xvi. 17. Cf. vii. 1; viii. 1; xii. 1.

On the relations of Paul to the Corinthians, see in general Neander, *Gelegenheitsschriften*, p. 68 ff.; F. Le Fort, *Rapports de S. Paul avec l'église de Corinthe*, Gen. 1836; R. Stier, *Die Corintherbriefe als Vorbild apostolischer Amtsführung*, Elb. 1841. — J. J. Breithaupt, *Ep. I. ad Cor.*, Halle, 1693.

W. C. L. Ziegler, *Einkl. in die Briefe an die Kor.* (*Abhh.*, Part II.); Rückert, *Exeg. Mag.*, p. 132; F. C. Baur, *Paulus*, p. 259 ff., and *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, II. ff. Also Salthen, above, § 82. F. Gibaud, *Introd. à la prém. ep. aux Cor.*, Str. 1835.

95. The errors which cause the Apostle in this new Epistle to fall so often into the tone of despondency and sorrow are of quite a different nature from those that have hitherto met us. The weakness of faith elsewhere censured, if indeed it appeared at all, was certainly not prominent, and far from being obliged to combat in the name of Christian liberty, as the chief hindrance to the higher spiritual life of the church, a mistaken Jewish zeal for the Law, it was rather the abuse of this liberty, resulting from heathen frivolity, which had caused much more lamentable disorders. Here also, then, there was manifested

the evil effect of too hasty baptism, by which many a dangerous element had been introduced into the young church, within which the proverbially infamous reputation of the city was not belied; and doubtless in many cases, after a transitory effect, the old immorality returned, a most pernicious example. The rebuke expressed is not directed against particular gross outbreaks of vice alone; the spirit of quiet and peaceful brotherly love must have wholly departed, since in its place had entered division and contention, and even the sacred assemblies had become but another opportunity for the unseemly exhibition of the inner disorder.

1 Cor. v. 6. Cf. i. 5 ff., where to be sure the Corinthians are praised for *χαρίσματα* of the intellect, *λόγος* and *γνώσις*, in vs. 17 ff. unequivocally also for *σοφία* or at least the desire therefor, but not for the qualities of the heart, love and holiness. The evangelical, mystical view of the moral law, vi. 12 ff., is as pure and beautiful in idea and application as its proof, from a logical point of view, is defective. The division of the instincts as such into categories is inadmissible; lawful wedlock is, unintentionally, also affected by the reasoning, and the alleged different effect of different sins, vs. 18, leads to an unsafe and equivocal estimate of their gravity.

Ch. xi. 2-16. This passage at the first glance excites our surprise. Yet it is quite in accord with the general perversity of the human heart that Christian women should desire to put in practice their new religious belief, regarded as an ambiguously so-called emancipation, by adopting a costume abhorrent to the ideas then held of modesty and propriety. C. Salmasius and G. J. Vossius, *Epp. de cæsarie virorum et mulierum*, Leyd. 1644; J. P. a Kerkhoven, *De comæ usu et abusu*, Leyd. 1644; *Miscellanea philol. et theol.*, Amst. 1693; J. Gurlitt, *Expl. c. xi. ep. prioris ad Cor.*, Hamb. 1817. (Numerous monographs on vs. 10.)

96. But beside these more gross improprieties there were still others at Corinth, no less deeply rooted. The church, like all large churches, was composed of very diverse elements, and it was not possible that all should make equal progress in the apprehension and appropriation of the new ideas. Some lagged far behind in their development, others ran rashly ahead into false conclusions, and the truth, which usually lies in the mean, and which manifests itself by fruits of love, was found by but few. While the scrupulously devout regarded it as a heathenish abomination even to eat at home the flesh of a sacrificed animal, the freethinkers did not scruple even to be present with their heathen friends at the sacrificial feasts in the temples. One party looked upon fornication and adultery as matters of indifference, while the other regarded a second marriage, nay, even marriage itself and the natural use thereof, as a violation of Christian holiness. These phenomena cannot be satisfactorily explained simply from the contrast between the Jewish and Gentile ways of thinking; they presuppose a leavening influence already introduced by the gospel into both,

which had not yet gone far enough to effect a clear separation between the sound and the unsound. It was the task of the apostolic instruction to correct gross errors and to grant due consideration to mere prejudice, without in any way compromising the liberty of the gospel.

1 Cor. vii. — Whether all the questions and matters here treated were touched upon by the Corinthians themselves in their letter may be doubted. The first and most general, vss. 1-7, should by no means be derived from a misunderstanding of former instructions of Paul; still less, however, from Essene principles. It is, in the mouth of the Corinthians, the expression of a reaction which had grown up on the soil of heathen philosophy against the prevailing libertinism, which, resting upon the notion of matter as the seat of evil, had already passed over from theory into practice (1 Tim. iv. 3). It was on both sides foreign to the gospel, and yet in practice was approved by the Apostle for subjective (though in this case somewhat one-sidedly expressed, and therefore not justified even on the Christian view of marriage) and temporal reasons, but not preached. Cf. also Eph. v. 22 ff.; Col. iii. 18; 1 Tim. ii. 15; Heb. xiii. 4. (For other explanations see the expositors, especially J. A. Gratama, *Comm. in ep. I. ad Cor. c. vii.*, Gron. 1845; Kling, in the *Studien*, 1839, II. 441; Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1852, I.; T. Schott, in the *Zeitsch. für luth. Theol.*, 1861, IV.)

1 Cor. viii.-x. — It is to be particularly noticed that the point of view here taken by the Apostle is not that of the decree of Jerusalem (§ 66). In theory he has no objection whatever to the eating of *εἰδωλόματα*; it is only practical considerations, respect for the scruples of others and danger of error on one's own part, that should limit freedom in the matter (viii. 13; x. 12). More important than either of these reasons, however, is a third, Christian seemliness (x. 15 ff.). S. Kripner, *De esca idolis immolatorum*, Jena, 1720.

97. Sharper and more cutting yet necessarily became the arraignment when the very sources and occasions of general edification were perverted to the opposite result by the strangest and most evil outgrowths of vanity and worldliness. It seems an unheard-of thing, hardly to be believed even upon the Apostle's own declaration, that the sacred festival of the Agape, or Love Feast, had become a common carousal, where not only wild excess took the place of devout uplifting of the soul with many, but ostentation and show, together with glaring obtrusion of differences in rank, outrageously belied the spirit of equality and brotherly love which the beautiful custom should have introduced, in more than a symbolic manner, into life. In the midst of such assemblies no genuine inspiration could exist; it felt itself repelled. In preaching, most took delight only in the external, rhetorical art, not in the word of salvation for itself. But they were especially interested by the morbid phenomena of so-called spiritual ecstasy, which was, at the best, a result of over-excitement, but for the most part doubtless merely a studied counterfeit of the true in-dwelling of the divine spirit; a speaking with tongues, not with under-

standing and power, an empty sound as of bell or cymbals, without love and its fruit.

1 Cor. xi. 17–xiv. 40. Cf. also § 37. I have expressed at length my views on the charisms in general and on prophecy and speaking with tongues in particular in two essays: *De vocum paul. λόγου σοφίας et λόγου γνώσεως sensu rectius constituendo*, Arg. 1834, and *La Glossolalie, chapitre de psychologie évangélique*, in the *Strassb. Revue de Théol.*, 1851, III. 65. The old ideas, in part still defended, of miraculous gifts (peculiar to Corinth), especially of a speaking in foreign tongues not learned, are well known. These ideas (of miraculous gifts in general) must be modified to this extent even by Mt. xxv. 14 ff., Lk. xix. 11 ff., and parallel passages (Rom. i. 11 ff.; xii. 4 ff.; 1 Cor. vii. 7, etc.), that every capacity and power of the individual for the advantage of the whole, even in physical things, but more particularly in spiritual, is a gift of grace from the Spirit, and that consequently no distinction between natural and supernatural influence is admissible. J. P. Kurtzmann, *Narratio critica de interpret. locorum N. T. in quibus donorum Sp. S. . . . mentio fit*, Gött. 1793. Older: J. A. Scherzer, *Sciagraphia donorum Sp. S.*, L. 1676; T. Pfanner, *De charismatibus*, etc., Frankf. 1680; J. F. Reuss, *De donis Sp. S. miraculosis*, Tüb. 1768 ff. Modern views: J. F. Kleuker, *Briefe über Natur und Mittheilung der Gaben des Geistes*, L. 1780; Hezel in the *Schriftforscher*, II. 372; Eichhorn in his *Bibl.*, II. 757; IV. 925; Storr in the *N. Repertor.*, III. 281; M. Weber, *De donis eccl. ap. spiritualibus*, Vit. 1794; *Der Pragmatismus der Geistesgaben*, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1828, p. 389 ff., 608 ff.; J. J. Griesbach, *Comm. ad 1 Cor. xii. 1–11*, Jena, 1780; J. A. Nösselt, *Prolusio in h. l.*, Halle, 1803; D. Schulz, *Die Geistesgaben der ersten Christen*, Br. 1836; Kling, in the *Studien*, 1839, II. 476. [Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, 469; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 436.]

On the speaking with tongues in particular, see, beside the above, the expositors, both on this Epistle and on Acts ii., and, by modern writers, special essays by J. A. Ernesti, 1765; G. Less, 1771; J. G. Herder, 1794; J. A. G. Meyer, 1797; Anon., Tüb. 1798; A. Christiaan, Utr. 1801; C. F. Stäudlin, 1801; F. A. Klein, 1816; J. Schulthess, 1818; J. Viollier, Gen. 1838; L. C. Seineke, 1842; V. Brumder, Str. 1844; E. Rossteuscher, 1850; A. Hilgenfeld, 1850; G. M. Redslob, *Apokalypsis, Blätter für pneum. Christenthum*, Hamb. 1859, p. 68 ff.; also articles in periodicals: in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, by himself, I. 775; III. 322; by Ammon, VI. 467; in *N. Repert.*, by Paulus, I. 266; II. 273; in the *Memorabilien*, by Schmid, VII. 29; in Henke's *N. Mag.*, by Nachtigal and others, II. 486; VI. 100; in the *Analekten*, by Böhme, I. 2; in Winer's *Kritische Journal*, by Hase, I. 264; in the *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, by Bleek, 1829, I.; 1830, I.; by Olshausen, 1829, III.; 1830, I.; 1831, III.; by F. C. Baur and Wieseler, 1838, III. [by Wieseler also in 1860]; by D. Schulz, 1839, III.; in the *Tüb. theol. Zeitschrift*, by F. C. Baur, 1830, II.; by Steudel, 1830, II.; 1831, II.; in Klüber's *Studien*, by Scholl, III. 1, 2; by Bäumlein, VI. 2; in the *Tüb. Quartalschrift*, 1828, III.; 1831, I.; in the *Journal für Prediger*, by Barth and Kelle, Pt. 88, p. 257 ff.; in the *Kieler Mitarbeiter*, by Kuntze, III. 1; in the *Annalen der Theologie*, by J. E. Geissler, 1832, II. and 1833, IV.; by H. A. W. Meyer, 1834, III.; in the *Zeitschrift für luth. Theol.*, by Svenson, 1859, I., etc. [Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, 1832; Zinsler, 1847; Böhm, *Reden mit Zungen u. Weissagen*, B. 1848; Maier, *Glossalalie des apost. Zeitalters*, 1855; Zeller, *Acts of the App.*, I. 171, E. tr.; Schenkel, Art. *Zungenreden*, in his *Bibellesikon*; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 234; Plumptre, Art. *Tongues, Gift of*, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*]

On xi. 17 ff., and on the Agapæ in particular, see, beside the general works on Christian Antiquities: B. Stolberg, *De agapis* (Menthen's *Thes.*, II. 800); M. Sundt, *Agapæ veterum*, Hafn. 1727; J. G. Mörlin, *De ag. vett. christ.*, L. 1730; J. G. F. Drescher, *De vett. chr. agapis*, Giss. 1824; A. F. Kiefer, *Sur les agapes*, Str. 1835.

98. But all these evils and their mutual oppositions had still farther consequences, scarcely less lamentable, in that they became new occasions for separation into manifold parties, — something to which the Greek genius was only too prone. It was this inner disintegration of the church which the Apostle first took up and rebuked in his epistle. We see plainly from this that the theological controversies, which elsewhere played the principal part, were not of chief importance in this case. Yet they were not wholly absent, as is shown in particular by the skepticism of the Gentile Christians respecting the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection. Indeed, as the course of the history will show, these theological controversies seem to have been taken hold of in their very inception. For the moment, Paul treats the party names rather as cloaks of the spirit of dissension than as indications of a real divergence of belief such as to call immediately for dogmatic controversy, after his custom in other cases. At least, this latter significance of these dissensions seems to have become fully clear, and to have assumed its proper position of chief importance in his mind, only upon further information, and after that, through the machinations of secret enemies, a still wider breach had come between himself and the church.

1 Cor. i. 10 ff., ii.-iv. ; 2 Cor. x. ff.

C. Vitranga, *De sectis eccl. Cor.* (Obss., I. 799) ; J. L. Mosheim, *De origine contentionum inter Corinthios*, Helmst. 1726 ; J. C. Bläsche, *Erkl. schwerer Stellen*, IV. 431 ff. ; Lund, *Spicil.*, p. 56 ff. ; D. J. Pott, *De sectis eccl. cor.*, Gött. 1824 ; F. C. Baur, in the *Tüb. Zeitschrift*, 1831, IV. ; 1836, IV. ; and in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1845, II. ; 1850, II. [also in his *Paulus*, 2d ed. I. p. 291] ; D. Schenkel, *De ecclesia cor. factionibus turbata*, Bas. 1838 ; J. P. van der Meer, *De sectis corr.*, Amst. 1838 ; D. J. H. Goldhorn, *Die Christuspartei* (Hilgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1840, II.) ; A. F. Dähne, *Die Christuspartei zu Kor.*, Halle, 1841 ; F. Becker, *Die Parteien zu Korinth*, Alt. 1842 ; W. O. Dietlein, *Das Urchristenthum*, p. 101 ff. ; C. M. Heymann, *De Apollonio ejusque amicis eccl. cor. perturbantibus* (Sächs. Studien, II. 213) ; J. F. Rabiger, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die Briefe P. an die Kor.*, Br. 1847 ; W. Bey-schlag, *De eccl. cor. factione christiana*, Hal. 1861 ; idem, in the *Studien*, 1865, II. ; 1871, IV. ; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1865, III. ; 1871, I. [Scharling, *De Paulo apost. ejusque adversariis*, Copenh. 1836 ; Jäger, *Erkl. d. Br. P. nach Kor. aus d. Gesichtspunkte d. vier Parteien*, Tüb. 1838 ; Kniewel, *Ecclesie Cor. vetustiss. dissensiones et turbæ*, Gedan. 1841 ; Neander, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 68 ff. ; *Gesch. d. Pflanzung*, I. 360, 4th ed., Hamb. 1847 ; E. tr. Lond. 1851 ; J. E. C. Schmidt, *Bibl. f. Krit. u. Exeg.*, I. 91 ; Lutterbeck, *Neutest. Lehrbegriff*, II. 45 ; Holtzmann, in Herzog's *Encycl.*, XIX. p. 730 ; Ewald, *Gesch. d. apost. Zeit.*, p. 505, 3d. ed. ; Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, 285 ff. ; Meyer, *Introd. to Comm. on Cor.* ; also on 1 Cor. i. 12 ; Lechler, *Apost. u. nachapost. Zeit.*, p. 385 ff.]

In our definition of the Corinthian parties we are at once to dispossess ourselves of the idea that they were a purely local phenomenon, or were uniformly opposed to each other. In view of the friendly relations between Paul and Apollos (iii. 6 ; iv. 6 ; xvi. 12 ; Tit. iii. 13), and of the peculiar, apologetic character of Paul himself and of his manner of preaching (i. 17 ff. ; ii.),

the question at issue with the party of Apollos could have been nothing more than a matter of taste. The party of Christ is plainly pointed out by the decisive passage 2 Cor. x. 7 as the strict Jewish faction, and against it the sharp polemic of 2 Cor. x.—xii. is directed: chiefly, to be sure, in the form of a defense of the writer's own apostolic dignity; but the contesting by the opposing party of this without reference to the theological opinions therewith connected is inconceivable. (Otherwise Baur, *Drei ersten Jahrh.*, p. 57 f.) 2 Cor. xi. 4, 13 ff. refers to the latter. The fact that Paul does not make them prominent may be explained both from the less extent of the influence of Jewish practice upon the light-minded Greeks, who took delight in simple opposition, not in self-discipline; and also from the fact that Paul could not possibly combat theological errors where immorality had gained the upper hand. These Judaists called themselves after the name of Christ not in order to raise themselves above all Apostles (Neander, against which view is 2 Cor. xi. 5), but in order to brand the preaching of Paul as anti-Christian and the Apostle himself as unauthorized (Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1865, III., thinks rather of immediate disciples of Jesus who were present). The separation thus becomes sharper than through the name of Peter, when it is used as a figure-head; the latter, according to the concurrent testimony of Gal. ii. 7 ff., and Acts xv. 21, xxi. 20 ff., defended only the theoretical holding to the law for the circumcised (while Paul consented to the practical), and the precedence of the original Apostles over all others; cf. 1 Cor. ix. 5 f.; 2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11. Moreover, 1 Cor. iii. 22 does away with the suspicion that Paul either would or could find occasion for a complete separation from Peter himself. As a theologian he could look down upon him (Gal. ii. 11, 14); of schism and accusations of heresy there is nothing said (Gal. ii. 9, 14 ff.). In actual life the difference between these followers of Peter and of Christ might well be a confusing one, and it was certainly not without reason that Paul took hold of the matter energetically (1 Cor. i. 12). But it does not follow from iii. 22 that the so-called party of Christ was nothing but a fancy of the exegetes,—a designation of such as wished to have nothing at all to do with party. For the rebuke of i. 10 ff. is unmistakably directed toward all four *ἐγώ*'s, and it is just because it should be the common name of all Christians (iii. 23) that it is inadmissible as a party name.

1 Cor. xv.—The resurrection is vindicated, against such as deny it because of being repelled by the Jewish, materialistic conception of the doctrine, by leading the readers back to fundamental mystical (vs. 12 f.) and spiritual (vs. 36 ff.) views of it. This is a last and essential step on the part of Paul toward the renunciation of Jewish theology (eschatology). His opponents are not Sadducees, not Jews at all, but Gentiles, to whom, in accordance with national (Acts xvii. 18, 32) or Gnostic-philosophic (2 Tim. ii. 18) conceptions, the reanimation of the earthly body was an absurdity. It is the second trace in this Epistle (1 Cor. vii.; § 96) of the existence of an anti-materialistic Gnosis, which, in its antipathy to Jewish views, went even beyond the Christian. The logical conclusiveness of the argument vs. 12 ff. has been disputed; the fault lies, however, only in the mingling of the mystic and rational points of view, and is chargeable rather to the expositor than to the Apostle.

Essays on the whole passage: D. Gerdes, Brem. 1759; J. A. Ernesti, L. 1774; R. Schütte, in the *Bibl. Hagana*, I. 513; J. F. Petersen, Gött. 1783; L. H. T. Jehne, 1788, in Velthusen's *Syll.*, II.; J. Gurlitt, 1797, in Pott's *Syll.*, V.; *Tübinger Osterprogramm*, 1823; Kling, in the *Studien*, 1839, II. 499; W. A. v. Hengel, *Comm. perp. in Cap. 15*, etc., Sylv. duc. 1851; A. E. Krauss, *Theol. Commentar zu 1 Cor. xv.*, Frankf. 1864. [Klöpper, *Zur paulin. Lehre v. d. Aufersteh.*, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsch. Theol.*, 1862, p. 1 ff.] — On the most important points (beside numerous older essays): vs. 12 ff.: G.

C. Knapp, Halle, 1799; Flatt, in his *Mag.*, V. 258; A. F. Müller, L. 1839; vs. 35 ff.: S. F. N. Morus, L. 1787; J. S. Semler, H. 1766; Henke's *N. Mag.*, IV. 69; E. Wörner, *Der Erstling der Entschlafenen*, Tüb. 1864. — On vs. 29 a vast special literature. [See Meyer, in *loc.*]

99. It is precisely under these untoward and troublous circumstances that the noble personality of the Apostle appears in the most beautiful light. As a worthy shepherd of the flock of Christ he has an earnest rebuke for every gross error of life, a reproof, as eloquent as plain-spoken, for every denial of the Holy Spirit, but at the same time a helping hand, at once tender and powerful, for every human weakness, and for every slightest sign of improvement a gracious ministering of the consolation of the gospel. The great thought of the office of the Christian teacher, of being responsible for the welfare of the church, penetrates all parts of this Epistle, however much its tone may change from reproof to exhortation, from praise to denunciation. The great condition of success in apostolic work, to enter into the hearts of men with one's own heart full of love, is everywhere abundantly fulfilled, in his severe as well as in his kind words, in the flattering expression of hope and in the tears of deep solicitude alike. And above all — the glory of a true bishop — there is combined in it the calm clearness of teaching with the captivating power of eloquence, wisdom in the management of difficult matters with fiery zeal for the things of God's house.

Modern exegetical literature on the Epistles to the Corinthians: J. L. v. Mosheim, 2d ed. Flensb. 1762, 2 Pts.; S. J. Baumgarten, with notes by Nösself, Halle, 1761; J. S. Semler, Halle, 1770, 1776, 2 vols.; J. C. F. Schulz, Halle, 1784 f., 2 vols.; G. Göpferdt, L. 1788; S. F. N. Morus, L. 1794.

G. Billroth, L. 1833 [E. tr. Edinb.]; L. I. Rückert, L. 1836 f., 2 vols.; H. Jäger, Tüb. 1838; H. Monneron, P. 1851; J. E. Osiander, Stuttg. 1847, 1858, 2 vols.; A. Neander, B. 1859; H. A. W. Meyer (§ 592), 4th ed. 1861 f. [Add Olshausen, Königsb. 1840, E. tr. N. Y. 1858; De Wette, L. 1845; 3d ed. by Messner, 1855; Ewald, *Sendschreiben des Ap. P.*, 1857; Burger, Erl. 1859 f. 2 vols.; A. Maier, Freib. 1857-65; C. F. Kling, in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, VII. Bielef. 1861, E. tr. N. Y. 1869; W. F. Besser, 1862 f.; J. C. C. v. Hofmann, *N. T.*, II. 2, 3, 1864-66; Heinrici, 1880; Manoury (Fr.), Par. 1879; Peile (Eng.), Lond. 1848; Alford, Lond. 1856, 4th ed. 1865; Chas. Hodge, N. Y. 1857-60; C. Wordsworth, *Greek Test.*, 4th ed. 1866; Stanley, Lond. 1858, 4th ed. 1876, 2 vols.; F. W. Robertson, *Lectures on 1 and 2 Cor.*, Lond. 1870; also N. Y. 1881.]

On the first Epistle in particular: L. Sahl, Havn. 1779; F. A. W. Krause, Frankf. 1792; A. L. C. Heydenreich, Marb. 1825 f., 2 vols.; A. Maier, Freib. 1857.

100. The same judgment, in some respects in even higher degree, holds of the following Epistle. For the more plainly and firmly Paul had expressed himself against the Corinthians, the more anxious was he to know the impression which his Epistle would make upon them. Soon after their messengers

had departed with the answer, and before Timothy had returned, he sent Titus to inquire, by the land route, however. Not long after, he left Ephesus himself and followed his friend in the same direction, interesting himself everywhere on the way in the condition and needs of the churches. Somewhere in Macedonia he met Titus on his return from Corinth, and thus obtained the latest, and in many respects more ample, information respecting matters there, which, being given by a skillful observer, revealed especially the machinations of the personal enemies of the Apostle. He understood now more clearly that he had to deal not merely with moral errors of all kinds, but also with the maintenance of his own authority, of which, there as elsewhere, the odious sycophancy of Jewish emissaries would deprive him.

Of the result of the mission of Timothy (§ 94) there is no record; possibly he did not reach Corinth at all, but stopped too long in Macedonia (2 Cor. i. 1), where Paul met him again. This is still the current opinion. Yet perhaps another scheme may commend itself, according to which this non-mention of the journey of Timothy in the later epistle is to be explained on the supposition that between this and our first another epistle, now lost, may have been sent, to which would refer certain allusions in the last which appear to be less susceptible of natural explanation from the extant first epistle. For example, the sorrow of which we read, 2 Cor. ii. 3 ff., vii. 8 ff., it would be easier to understand of some personal grief of the Apostle than to bring into connection with 1 Cor. v.; cf. also 2 Cor. v. 13 (Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1830, III., and *Einl.*, p. 402; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1864, II.; 1866, III.; 1871, I.; A. Klöpper, *Unterss. über den 2ten Brief an die Kor.*, Gött. 1866 [cf. Neander, *Planting and Training*]). Ewald (*Paulus*, p. 227) not only assumes such a lost intermediate epistle, but places the second journey of Paul to Corinth (§ 87) within this period, contrary to the natural sense of 1 Cor. xvi. 6 ff. Against this scheme, which is of course not absolutely necessary, see Müller (§ 87); Hofmann, in *Comm.*, p. 341 ff.

101. He had planned to go to Corinth himself immediately, and what he heard from Titus could only confirm him in this intention; but, in order not to be obliged to hasten unduly the business of the moment, he preferred to address the Corinthians once more by letter before he presented himself to them in person. This he did in a third epistle, that called by us the second, which he wrote during the winter, in Macedonia, and sent by Titus. Not so much by a lack of order and compactness in the course of thought as by certain repetitions, and by the absence of natural transitions between the separate divisions, we are led to the idea that the Epistle was not the result of a single occasion; nay, even, that possibly long breaks, and perhaps even changes of place, interrupted its writing. Formerly critics felt tempted to make a sharper separation between the different parts. Yet, under the above assumptions, the whole may justly be regarded as the expression of the experiences of the Apostle at that time.

M. Weber, *De numero epp. ad Corr. rectius constituendo*, Vit. 1798–1807, 12 programmes (cf. also Semler, below, § 111; J. P. Gabler, *De capp. ultimis ep. II. ad Corr. ab ea non separandis*, Jena, 1782). C. H. Weisse, *Philos. Dogmatik*, I. 144 f. likewise distinguishes three epistles. Lately, A. Haus-rath (*Der Vier-Capitel-Brief des P. an die Cor.*, Heidlb. 1870) has treated chs. x.–xiii. as an independent (incompletely preserved?) epistle, to be placed before chs. i.–ix. in time. Against him, Schulze, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1872, IV.

The connection of chs. i.–viii. (§ 103) being easily apparent, the difficulty is only in the introductory phrase of ch. ix., in the absence of anything of the kind before ch. x., and in the altered tone of this and the following chapters. But in view of the equally unmistakable genuineness of all parts, their like destination to Corinth, and partial allusions (cf. i. 13 with x. 2, 11; i. 15 f. with x. 14; iii. 1 and v. 12 with x. 18, xi. 16 f., xii. 1, etc.; ii. 2 ff. and vii. 9 ff. with xiii. 10, etc.), we shall do well to abide by the above decision of the matter. The plural *ἐπιστολαί*, x. 10, refers to all three epistles actually written (or even before, § 100). — The above observations will perhaps suffice also to cover the passage vi. 14–vii. 1, which Ewald, on the ground of lack of connection, regards as interpolated.

J. C. Harenberg, *De definiendo scriptæ II. ad Corr. ep. anno* (Bibl. Brem., VII.); H. J. Royaards, *De altera P. ad Corr. ep.*, Traj. 1818; M. Wirth, *Altes und Neues über den zweiten Brief an die Kor.*, Ulm, 1825. [Meyer, *Introd. to Comm. on 2 Cor.*]

102. In the mean time the different elements in the Corinthian church had become more sharply defined, a result which the former Epistle had certainly aided in bringing about. With many the moral sense may have been strengthened by rebuke; in many the old love for Paul may have been rekindled, and have commended itself at least in promises and protestations: by this very fact the rest were compelled to make their opposition more unequivocal, in which, however, for the time at least, they were doubtless in the minority. These two facts condition the wholly different language of the different parts of the new epistle. It was important, on the one hand, to complete the victory of the better element, and to secure the good will of the majority for the strengthening and upholding of harmony and Christian discipline; and, on the other, to resist stoutly every tendency to unhallowed ambition or misleading prejudice.

The extended explanations of the Apostle as to why he had delayed his journey (i. 15 ff.; ii. 1; x. 1 f.; xiii. 1), his reassuring explanations respecting the contents of the former Epistle (ii. 2 ff.; vii. 2, 8 ff.), finally, his expressed unrest (ii. 12; vii. 5 ff. 13), show that he was not sure of the issue of affairs at Corinth, and regarded an evil result as possible there as well as a good one. It is likewise certain that the whole Epistle regards and treats the church as now inclined to Paul, and his opponents always as few in number and outsiders (*τινὲς*, iii. 1; x. 2, 7, 12; xi. 4, 13, 21 ff.), in describing whom he is addressing a circle of readers friendly to him (iii. 1; x. 11; xi. 2, 11, 19 ff.; xii. 11 ff., 19), who are sufficiently proved to be the great majority by *ὁμοῖς πάντες*, and similar expressions (ii. 3, 5; iii. 2; vi. 11 f.; vii. 4 ff., 13, 15).

Moreover, ch. xiii. does not refer to these Judaizing personal opponents, but (as is shown by xii. 20, 21, cf. ii. 1) to all who had been guilty of the disorders rebuked in the First Epistle, chs. v., vi., xi.

103. In the first division, through which runs a thread of historical communications on the recent history of the author, we have really a repeated defense of his authority and method. Inspired by a noble self-respect and a high enthusiasm for the office of the gospel teacher, but also by deep love for the church addressed, he rises incidentally to the most spiritual views of the relation of the New Covenant to the Old, and to the most touching outpourings of a heart overflowing with longing for complete reconciliation. Immediately upon this follows an exhortation to a general collection in aid of the church at Jerusalem, already appended to the First Epistle and repeated here with emphasis. In the last division, on the other hand, as if sure of the regained confidence of the better portion of the church, the Apostle chastises, with the lash of irony and the blows of a comparison as eloquent as confounding of the acts of the two parties, his personal opponents, in whom we have no difficulty in recognizing the compeers of those who had been concerned in like manner in the Galatian church.

First division, chs. i.-vii. ; i. 3-11, 15 ff., 23 ff., ii. 12 ff., vii. 5 ff., viii. 1, constitute the historical thread ; ii. 14 ff., however, is the only proper digression, in which the apostolic office is described first on its bright and then on its dark side, iv. 7 ff. (Mosheim, *Cogitt.*, p. 141 ; J. A. Nösselt, 1771) ; yet so that the impression of the former prevails, iv. 16 ff. ; and the thought of the object of the office, — the preaching of the atonement, — v. 14 ff. (C. E. Weismann, Tüb. 1732 ; Jablonski, *Opp.*, III. 185 ; Nösselt, *Opp.*, II. 183 ; J. P. Gabler, Jena, 1805), leads the way again, vi. 1 ff., to the application to the case in hand, in which personal and general Christian arguments are combined to the same end. The fine point in this division is ch. iii., the parallel between the priesthood of the Old Covenant and the office of the preacher under the New (J. F. Bahrdt, L. 1749 ; E. Stöber, Str. 1771 ; J. W. Rau, Erl. 1781 ; Emmerling, in Keil's *Analekten*, I. 1).

Second division, the collection, chs. viii., ix., with which cf. 1 Cor. xvi. ; Gal. ii. 10 ; Acts xxiv. 17. The tautological urgency of the appeal does not show a plurality of epistles, but a lack of certainty as to the result.

Third division, polemics, resuming in close connection with ch. vii. Chs. x.-xiii. ; cf. §§ 98, 102. Here occur, beside many historical hints, several difficult points, insoluble to orthodox and rationalistic comprehension, particularly xii. 1-9. (G. W. Oeder, 1742 ; J. G. Knapp, 1752 ; Schmidt's *Bibl.*, II. 638 ; Theile, in Winer's *Journal*, VIII. 169 ; Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, II. 182.) On the trance in particular, J. C. Gensel, L. 1749 ; C. E. Gensel, Zw. 1787 ; C. A. G. Keil, L. 1816 ; ἄρρητα ῥήματα, J. D. Engelschmidt, Kön. 1753 ; σκόλοψ, J. G. Rothe, Chemn. 1778 ; C. F. Schmid, Witt. 1777 ; F. S. Winterberg, in Henke's *N. Mag.*, II. 43 ; Bertholdt, *Opp.*, 134 ; A. G. Becker, Magd. 1822 ; E. T. R. Wolf, Dr. 1837 ; J. J. Kromm, in the *Annalen der Theol.*, 1831, IV. ; G. M. Redslob, *Das Mysterium der Stelle 2 Cor. xii.*, Hamb. 1860, 1864 ; not to mention numberless older writers.

A. Roux, *Analyse de la 2 Ep. aux Cor.*, Str. 1836. — Commentaries (§ 99) : J. G. F. Leun, Lemgo, 1804 ; C. A. G. Emmerling, L. 1823 ; C. E. Scharling, Havn. 1840. — C. F. A. Fritzsche, *De nonnullis poster. ep. ad Cor. locis*, L. 1824, reviewed by J. Schulthess in Winer's *Journal*, I. 257 ; II. 361 ; J. F. Krause, *Obss. in Ep. II. ad Corr.* (*Opp.*, p. 81 ff.) [Klöppel, 1874].

104. This last Epistle to Corinth Paul followed in person almost immediately, and tarried in the capital city of Achaia some months. As to what complexion affairs now bore there, and as to how far his experience on this his last visit was more satisfactory than on the preceding one, we have no further knowledge. A witness of the following generation simply informs us in general that the Apostle did not succeed in introducing into the church, at least not permanently, the gospel spirit of peace and truth for which he had so zealously contended. Thus the contrast between these most noble monuments of apostolic activity and their immediate results is another proof to us that the house of God was not to be built in a day, and that the enthusiastic hopes of the early leaders of the Church went beyond the plan of Providence. In so far, however, as their preaching and their example, in written word and in spirit, are still effective to-day, it is at the same time an assurance that nothing which bears the seal of genuineness is lost for the work of the centuries.

Acts xx. 2, 3, limits the stay of Paul in Hellas. (Corinth alone ?) to three months, and gives account only of the machinations of the Jews, not of the state of the churches. The Epistle to the Romans, xvi. 21 ff., does not fill this gap. On the Epistle of Clement, see § 235. Time, spring of A. D. 60.

105. Arrived at Corinth, and resting for a moment from the arduous and blessed journeying of the last years, Paul surveyed with pleasure and thankfulness to God the field of his labor thus far. From Jerusalem to Illyria were numerous churches, the evidences of his daily labor. He felt that here must close one period of his life and a new horizon open to him. He would make one more pilgrimage to the holy city; there lay at the feet of the church that was alienated from him a gift of Christian love, perhaps to overcome their aversion by good deeds, or as a slight offset for the evil which he had once brought upon them; and then, leaving Asia and Greece behind, turn his attention to the western provinces of the empire, and carry the gospel to peoples who had not yet received it. He chose the capital as the centre for the new missions, and Rome was to become a mother church for the West as Antioch had been for the East. But it was to come about in a different way from what he supposed.

The materials for this sketch are taken from Rom. i. 10-15; xv. 17-32.

Commentary thereon: J. B. Riederer, *De felicibus P. inter gentes prædicantis successibus*, Alt. 1759.

It is, and must ever be, impossible to give a statistical view of the results of Paul's labors, since it was not his design to make a collection of materials for this purpose, or to measure the kingdom of God by square miles, as if it were already an accomplished thing. The geographical names mentioned in the N. T. certainly furnish no complete list of all the churches at this

time founded, even when due weight is given to the summary statements in 2 Cor. i. 1, Gal. i. 2, 1 Pet. i. 1, etc.

106. There already existed at this time in the city of Rome a Christian church, whose origin is unknown, which, however, probably had not been founded by missionaries specially sent thither, but had arisen as it were of itself, through the ordinary and continual intercourse of the Jews there with Palestine and Jerusalem. At least it has now been proved, by thorough historical research, that the story of the apostolic founding of the church of Rome must be remanded to the realm of fable. For the rest, the Roman church, having had such an origin, must be regarded as having been dependent, for its spiritual education and knowledge of the gospel, on the Palestinian churches, at the stage of development in which they then were, and by this standard, therefore, it is to be judged. Also, in view of its probable age, and of the great number of Jews resident at Rome, any other than a Judaistic complexion would be scarcely conceivable.

To this we have the testimony, both direct (§§ 126, 132) and indirect (§ 107), of Paul himself, as well as that of the Acts (§ 125). The great number of heathen proselytes who had attached themselves to the synagogue in Rome is well known; but in the absence of any definite Pauline preaching, they can not have been, as elsewhere, a prominent element in the rising church. The *Judei impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes* (Suet., *Claud.*, 25) are not Jewish Christians who had come into conflict with other Jews, and their expulsion from Rome is consequently not a concession to the latter; if this passage refers not to all (Acts xviii. 2), but only to those actuated by *Chrestus impulsor*, then the meaning is, in plain German [English], that the Roman police had begun to take notice of Messianic preaching; *tumultuari* is official style, *Chrestus* an error of the historian, due to the as yet complete indifference of polite society to the new sect. It would be quite too hazardous to find in Dio Cass. lx. 6 ("Claudius did not expel the Jews, τῶ δὲ πατρὶν νόμῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι") merely a prohibition of Christian assemblies. See A. v. Dale, *De oracc.*, p. 604; C. A. Heumann, *De Chresto Suetonii* (*Syll.*, p. 536); W. C. Oettel, *De Judæis impulsore Chresto tumultuantibus*, Salf. 1779. Thiersch, p. 99, is rather inclined to identify *Chrestus* with Peter! Cf. especially Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte des apost. Zeitalters*, Gr. 1856.

On the reputed participation of Peter in the founding of the Roman church there is nothing of importance to be added, after the recent discussions (especially Baur, in the *Tüb. Zeitschrift*, 1831, IV.; *Paulus*, p. 212 ff. [E. tr. I. 216] etc.). For the traditional Catholic view see L. v. Stolberg, *Der Ap. Petrus*, Hamb. 1815; also *Quartalschrift*, 1820, p. 567 ff.; 1830, p. 261 ff.; Stenglein, *ibidem*, 1840, II., III. — For the contrary view, in older writers (Spanheim, Van Til, and others), Mynster, *Opp.*, p. 141 ff.; Ammon, *Fortbildung des Christenthums*, IV. 319 ff.; Wieseler, *Chronol.*, p. 552 ff.; J. Ellendörff, *War Petrus in Rom?* Darmst. 1841 [E. tr. *Bib. Sac.*, 1858, No. 3]; Gundert, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1869, II.; R. A. Lipsius, *Die Quellen der röm. Petrus-Sage kritisch untersucht*, Kiel, 1870. [Reviewed and summarized by Samuel M. Jackson, in *Princeton Rev.*, 1876.] Cf. also Olshausen, in the *Studien* (against Baur), 1838, IV., and, in general, the lit-

erature cited in § 55 ; also, J. Alméras, *De l'origine de l'Église de Rome*, etc., Str. 1829.

[On the social and moral condition of Rome under the emperors see L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, L. 1862, 5th ed. rev. and enlarged, 1881, 3 vols. ; Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, E. tr. N. Y. 1879. On the Jews in Rome : Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 287-293. (E. tr. N. Y. 1866) ; Friedländer, *l. c.*, III. 505 ff. ; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, III. 383 ff. (E. tr. Lond. 1878) ; Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, p. 624 ff., and *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit*, L. 1879 ; Huidekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, 1876 ; also John Gill, *Notices of the Jews and their Country by the Classic Writers of Antiquity*, 2d ed. Lond. 1872. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, VI. 203 ff. On the Christian church at Rome, beside the works on the History of the Apostolic Age and the introductions to the Commentaries on Romans, Baur, *Paulus*, I. 346 ff. (E. tr. Lond. 1875) ; Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 1875, p. 302 ff. ; C. Weizsäcker, *Ueber die älteste römische Christengemeinde*, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1876, p. 248 ff. ; R. Seyerlen, *Entstehung u. erste Schicksale der Christengemeinde in Rom*, Tüb. 1874 ; A. Harnack, *Christianity and Christians at the Court of the Roman Emperors before the Time of Constantine*, in the *Princeton Rev.*, 1878, p. 239, ff. ; Formby, *Anc. Rome and its Connection with the Christ. Rel.*, Lond. 1880 ; Keim, *Rom u. das Christenthum*, B. 1881 ; Godet, *Comm. on Rom.*, I. 70 ff. E. tr. ; Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, 294 ff. ; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 360, rev. ed.]

5/2 107. The experience which Paul had had elsewhere may have caused him to fear that his arrival and preaching amid such surroundings might not meet with the desired response, and that his subsequent work might not find the proper support. He availed himself, therefore, of an opportunity that offered to introduce himself to the Roman Christians beforehand, at the same time also, and chiefly, to lay before them the fundamental principles of his gospel as he everywhere preached it, and as he was accustomed to fortify it against all Jewish objections by arguments from the Scriptures. Although he might not win all to this view at once, he might hope to convince some, and so to find a vantage-ground when he should come in person. Accordingly the Epistle to the Romans, written at Corinth, is the most important in respect of doctrine of all the Pauline Epistles that have come down to us, because nowhere else is the essential content of the gospel of the salvation of guilty man, by the grace of God, without the deeds of the Law, through the atonement by Jesus and faith, so coherently, so independently of external circumstances, and so comprehensively set forth and conclusively established.

J. J. Rambach, *Introd. hist. theol. in ep. P. ad Rom.*, Halle, 1727 ; D. Salthen (§ 82) ; Delitzsch, *Einl. in den Brief an die Römer*, in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1849, IV. ; T. Schott, *Der Römerbrief seinem Endzweck und Gedankengang nach ausgelegt*, Erl. 1858.

J. S. Semler, *De tempore quo scripta fuerit ep. ad Rom.*, Halle, 1767 ; J. F. Flatt, *De tempore*, etc., Tüb. 1798, and *Opp.*, p. 265.

H. Heisen, *De præcipuo ep. ad Rom. scopo* (*Bibl. Brem. nova*), IV. ; *De originibus ep. ad Rom.*, Jena, 1801 ; C. F. Schmid, *De ep. ad R. consilio*, Tüb. 1830 ; B. Froster (J. A. Gadolin), *De consilio ep. ad R.*, Hels. 1832 ;

F. C. Baur, *Zweck und Veranlassung des Römerbriefs* (Tüb. Zeitschrift, 1836, III.); cf. idem, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1857, I. II.; Dietlein, *Urchristenthum*, p. 33; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I., 285; J. Köstlin, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, I. 68 ff.; W. Mangold, *Der Römerbrief und die Anfänge der römischen Gemeinde*, Marb. 1866; W. Beyschlag, *Das geschichtliche Problem des Römerbriefs* (Studien, 1867, IV.); idem, *De eccl. rom. statu quem ep. P. respicit*, Halle, 1862; C. J. Riggenbach, *Ueber den Zweck des Römerbr.*, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1868, I.

Ph. Melancthon, *Prima adumbratio locc. theol.*, ed. Friedemann, Vit. 1823; J. W. Zierold, *Analogia fidei per exegesis ep. ad Rom. demonstrata*, Starg. 1702; G. Titius, *De ep. ad Rom.*, Helmst. 1650; C. Vitringa, *De præcipua hypothesi ep. ad Rom.* (Obs., 1010); J. W. Fuhrmann, *De concinnitate in ep. ad Rom.*, L. 1776; *Zusammenhängender Entwurf des Briefs an die Römer*, Bützow, 1776; Bretschneider, *Ideengang und Dogmatik des Br. an die Römer* (Oppos. S., VII. p. 515); R. Stier, *Ordnungsplan*, etc. (Bibl. Theol., 205); E. F. Höpfner, *De consecutione sententiarum in ep. ad Rom.*, L. 1828; A. M. Snouck, *De membrorum concinnitate in ep. ad Rom.*, Traj. 1837; C. F. H. Jäger, *Der Lehrgehalt des Römerbriefs*, Tüb. 1834. — Ammon, *De vestigiis theol. jud. in ep. ad Rom.*, Gött. 1801; C. F. Schmid, *Apologie litt. ad Rom. fragmenta*, Tüb. 1834.

The exegetical literature is catalogued most completely in the commentaries; also by Kling, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, IV. 2; V. 1. — Modern commentaries: S. J. Baumgarten, 1749; J. L. Mosheim and F. E. Boysen, 1771; J. Taylor (English), Lond. 1759; J. B. Carpzov, 1758; J. S. Semler, 1769; C. F. Schmid, 1777; J. A. Cramer, 1784; A. F. Fuchs, 1789; D. G. Herzog, 1791; C. F. Francke, 1793; E. F. C. Oertel, 1793; S. F. N. Morus, 1794; C. F. W. Möbius, 1804; C. F. Böhme, 1806; J. F. Weingart, 1816; R. Haldane (English), Lond. 1842; E. G. A. Böckel, 1821; C. W. Mössler, 1823; R. Stier (Bibl. Theol., p. 261–451), 1824; Koppe-Ammon, 3d ed. 1824; C. H. Terrot (English), Lond. 1828; H. Klee, 1830; J. F. Geissler, 1831; T. Scott (English); A. Tholuck (1824), 5th ed. 1856; H. E. G. Paulus (§ 86), 1831; L. I. Rückert (1831), 2d ed. 1839; W. Beneke, 1831; Moses Stuart (English), 1833; J. G. Reiche, 1833, 2 Pts.; C. Glöckler, 1834; E. Köllner, 1834; C. F. A. Fritzsche, 1836 ff., 3 vols.; L. Stengel, 1836 [2d ed. 1854, 2 vols.]; F. Lossius, 1836; H. Oltramare (French), 1843, Pt. I. incomplete; R. Nielsen, 1843; A. L. G. Krehl, 1845; A. Maier, 1847 (cf. idem, in the *Freib. Zeitschr.*, 1846); W. A. van Hengel, Sylv. duc. 1854, 3 vols.; F. A. Philippi (1847), 1856 [3d ed. 1866; E. tr. by Banks, 1879, 2 vols.]; F. W. C. Umbreit, 1856; Th. Schott, Erl. 1858; J. W. Colenso, Cambr. 1861.

[Add Baumgarten Crusius, Jena, 1844; F. X. Reithmayr, Regensb. 1845; F. C. Steinhof, Tüb. 1857; Ewald, *Sendschreiben des Ap. P.*, Gött. 1857; F. G. Jatho, Hildesh. 1858 f., 2 vols.; H. J. Mehring, Stettin, 1859; P. J. Spener, ed. H. Schott, L. 1859; Hofmann, *N. T.*, III., Nordl. 1868; Delitzsch, *Br. an d. Röm. aus d. gr. in das hebr. übersetzt u. aus Talmud u. Midrasch erläutert*, L. 1870; Diedrich, 3d ed. 1873; Volkmar, 1875; Manoury (Fr.), P. 1878; Godet, P. 1879 (E. tr. N. Y. 1880); J. Macknight, Edinb. 1795; Chas. Hodge, Phila. 1835; Th. Chalmers, *Lectures on the Ep. to the Romans*, Glasg. 1842; W. Walford, Lond. 1846; S. H. Turner, N. Y. 1853; R. Knight, Lond. 1854; B. Jowett, *Rom., Gal., Thess.*, Lond. 1855; E. Purdue, Dublin, 1855; A. A. Livermore, Bost. 1855; C. J. Vaughan, Cambr. 1857, 3d ed. 1870; J. Forbes, Edinb. 1868; David Brown, Glasgow, 1860; Belt, Lond. 1877; Shedd, N. Y. 1879.]

Of numberless essays on particular chapters and on matters the most of which must here be passed over, as similar matters everywhere else, see several on the more important points in the appropriate sections.

108. We may therefore regard the Epistle to the Romans as the foundation of Paul's doctrinal system, and make use of it as such, although not all aspects of it, as they appear in the other Epistles, are repeated in full. He touches here upon the main points. Starting with the universal guilt of mankind as a fact of experience, abundantly confirmed by the testimony of Scripture, and drawing therefrom the conclusion that by the Law itself only the consciousness of guilt could be effected, but no possibility afforded of effacing or avoiding it, he lays down the fundamental principles of the gospel as a theme to be established and carried out. Scripture is made to bear witness to its truth, and the inner peace of the believer to the benefit to be obtained therefrom. The old and the new man, sin and death, salvation and life, prefigured in their contrast and introduced into the world by Adam and Christ, are distinguished as absolutely exclusive of each other, by the new birth, which is accomplished by the inner participation in Christ's death and resurrection symbolized by baptism. Through it man is released from the fear of a threatening and yet powerless Law, and from the vexatious, hopeless conflict with himself, and may henceforth, led by the Spirit of God, and rejoicing in sonship to Him, enjoy even here a blessed foretaste of that heaven for whose glory nature and man alike long with pain and sighing.

This recapitulation, which follows the order of the Epistle (chs. i.-viii.), compared with the systematic one (§ 59 f.), shows, in the first place, many gaps (Christology, Eschatology, the Church, Sacraments, etc.), — a plain proof that it was not theology as such, in its whole scope, that was intended to be the subject of his teaching, but the anti-Judaistic element in it, or, if you will, that element which transcended Judaism. A special necessity for this course is therefore presupposed. In the second place, there is no strict systematic arrangement, since, for example, the battle within the natural man, vii. 7 ff., is not described until nearly the end, the sin-effacing new birth before, vi. 1 ff., and the fruits of the atonement even before this, v. 1 ff., etc. The connection of thought and the transitions by which it is accomplished are none the less practically natural because continually conditioned by concrete facts.

On this first division in particular see J. A. Turretin, *Prælectiones*, Laus. 1741; also in his *Opp.*, II.; A. Maier, *Exeg. Erl. zum dogm. Theil des Römerbriefs*, in the *Freiburger Zeitschr.*, 1846, Pt. 15.

For the literature see § 107, cf. § 59. — On chs. i., ii., in particular, A. Michelsen, Lüb. 1835 [Jowett, *Natural Religion*, in App. to Comm. on the Epp. of Paul]. — On the theme iii. 21 ff., modern essays by J. A. Nösselt, Halle, 1765; C. T. Teichgräber, Dresd. 1822; J. F. Winzer, L. 1829; J. J. Herzog, Bas. 1830 [Morison, *Crit. Exposition of Rom. iii.*, Glasg. 1866.] — On the exegetical argument, ch. iv., G. Seyler, Halle, 1824; P. Cassel, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1857, II. — On v. 1-8: Winzer, L. 1832; J. H. de Greef, Amst. 1845. — On the parallel between Adam and Christ, v. 12 ff., among others: J. D. Heilmann, Gött. 1759; Töllner, *Theol. Unterss.*, II. 56; Süsskind, in *Flatt's Mag.*, XIII.; H. A. Schott, Vit. 1811; Fromme,

in Ruperti's *Theol.*, I. 175 ; Finckh, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1830, I. ; Schmidt, *ibidem*, IV. ; J. E. R. Käufler, Dr. 1834 ; R. Rothe, Witt. 1836 ; C. Mane-gold, Erf. 1840 ; H. Ewald, *Jahrb.*, 1849, p. 566 ; Aberle, in the *Tüb. Quar-talschr.*, 1854, II. ; E. E. Picard, Str. 1861 ; A. Klöpfer, in the *Studien*, 1869, III. ; A. Dietzsch, *Adam und Christus*, Bonn, 1871. — On vi. 1 ff. : A. H. Niemeyer, 1788 ; P. H. Hugenholz, Utr. 1821 ; Winzer, 1831 ; H. Oltramare, Gen. 1838. [Venn, *St. Paul's Three Chh. on Holiness*, Lond., 1877 (vi., vii., viii.).] — On ch. vii., G. C. Knapp, Halle, 1802 ; F. S. Winterberg, 1791 ; H. F. Kohlbrügge, Elb. 1839 ; P. R. A. Saltet, Amst. 1850. — On vii. 7 ff., E. A. Cadier, Mont. 1841 ; A. Robert, Mont. 1845 ; Umbreit, in the *Studien*, 1851, III. ; Winzer, 1832 ; T. Braud, Toulouse, 1864 ; C. A. Weber, Str. 1864. [Jowett, *The Law as the Strength of Sin*, in App. to his Comm. on the Epp. of Paul.] — On ch. viii., Griesbach, Jena, 1776. — On viii. 19 ff. numerous monographs, of which a critical survey in F. G. Pfeiffer, *Essai d'une interpr. crit.*, etc., Str. 1847. [Meyer, *in loc.*]

109. There is plainly evident throughout the Epistle the endeavor to avert from himself all suspicion of a feeling of enmity toward Israel and her sacred inheritance, — a charge which had been so often preferred against him. Discreet turns in the reasoning, which yet in no way compromise the principles of the gospel, alternate with express protestations of love for his nation and of attachment to her traditions. But that which at first was only shadowed forth in single words and thoughts is afterward brought into the foreground and made the subject of an important theological discussion. A second part of the Epistle is designed to explain, from a higher and universal religious standpoint, how it came to pass that the people of God, notwithstanding their advantages and the promises made to them, had apparently failed of the fulfillment of the latter. After a preliminary enforcement of the divine freedom of determination and choice, the thought is carried out, which was to the Apostle a result of his own experience, that the present hardening of the Jews had furnished an opportunity for the Gentiles, and therefore lay in the plan of Providence ; but that none the less, inasmuch as God's word cannot be false, when once the fullness of the Gentiles should have come in, the day of visitation and mercy would dawn for Israel also. Thus a bold look into the depths of God's wisdom and ways, unembarrassed by the actual present state of affairs, finds a ray of light where strict logic sees only an inextricable enigma.

The feeling of uncertainty of the desired impression, and of its insecurity even if it should actually be produced, a certain wary exploration of the ground, and the necessity for defending his own position, crop out plainly in many passages. Beside the points mentioned in §§ 105, 111, notice the repeated use of the phrase Ἰουδαῖοι πάντες, i. 16, etc. ; also i. 18 ff., where heath-enism (ἀσέβεια, ἀδικία simply) is presented in its sinfulness ; ii. 1 f., where Judaism is not mentioned by name, and must be inferred ; iii. 1 ff., the pas-sage on the advantages of Judaism. On ch. xiv. cf. § 110. In the prin-cipal division, which is here to be considered, note especially ix. 1 ff. ; x. 1 f. ; xi. 1 ; also the turn xi. 17 ff.

Although we fully recognize the importance of the division chs. ix.-xi. in the economy of the Epistle, yet we cannot regard it as the pith and point of the whole,—that for the sake of which, in a certain sense, all the rest was written. The grander the grasp of history in this passage, the less fitting does it appear to allow personal relations to dominate it.

In the dogmatic use of this passage it should never be forgotten that Paul really has in mind not individuals, but masses, in his reasoning; the doctrine of predestination as applied to the individual is undoubtedly in the text, but rather as a logical consequence than as a conscious and immediate aim. Cf. (M. Weber) *Confutatio universalismi et particularismi judaici paulina*, Vit. 1812; W. Meyer, in the *Kieler Mittheilungen*, I. 3, IV. 1, 2; Nösselt, *Opp.*, I. 138; J. T. Beck, *Entwicklung des ix. Cap.*, etc., Stuttg. 1833; Steudel, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1836, I.; Rückert, *Exeg. Mag.*, I. 11 ff.; W. Beyschlag, *Die paulinische Theodicee*, B., s. a.; D. Coussirat, *L'Élection d'après Rom. ix. ss.*, Toulouse, 1864. [Baur, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, III. 59 ff.; Krummacher, *Dogma von der Gnadenwahl*, Duisb. 1856, p. 142 ff.; Weiss, *Prädestinationslehre d. Ap. Paul*, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1857, p. 54 f.; Lamping, *Pauli de prædest. decreta*, Leovard. 1858, p. 127 ff.; Morison, *On Rom. ix.*, 1849; Jowett, *On Predestination*, in *App. to Comm. on Epp. of Paul*.]

110. Application of what has been said to the manifold relations of life, and appropriate exhortations, close the Epistle. The author treats most emphatically, among many other things, of the duty of submission to the civil authorities, who had already more than once had trouble with the Jews of Rome, although in part through their own fault. He then goes on to commend, with especial force, brotherly forbearance and self-denying discretion in cases in which a deeper insight into the essence of the gospel causes that to appear to one as mere prejudice which to another is a sacred conviction: to the one a matter of indifference and perfectly allowable that from which the other recoils with horror. With consummate skill, this division of the Epistle is worded as if the freer view were the ruling one in Rome, needing therefore to be restrained within proper bounds of moderation, while in reality the exact opposite was the case. Thereby a most emphatic hint is given to a severely devout majority not to forget the essence in their zeal for the form; yet in such a way that they would not be repelled, in their innocently narrow faith, by his teaching, and thus the precise effect produced which the Apostle desired to avoid. Moreover, he knows how, by friendly addresses at the beginning and end, to win hearts and dissipate the prejudices which he well knows exist against him.

P. A. Borger, *De parte ep. ad Rom. parænetica*, Leyd. 1840.

Were we obliged to understand ch. xiv. in the sense given by the first appearance and impression, it would be a strong argument for prevailing anti-Judaistic tendencies at Rome, in opposition to the above. From vss. 2 and 20, unless they are to be taken hyperbolically, or as referring to the Apostle's experiences elsewhere, there may certainly be inferred a strong leaning toward Essene practices.

111. The conclusion of the Epistle to the Romans probably became confused in the manuscripts in ancient times. The prayer with which it now closes may have held an earlier position, and the Epistle have been continued afterward, contrary to the original design. There is no ground for regarding this continuation as spurious. That which we now have as the last chapter, aside from this prayer, has aroused doubts of a different kind. It is a letter of recommendation of a certain Phœbe, deaconess of the church of Cenchreæ, the port near Corinth, who is therefore generally regarded as the bearer of the whole Epistle to Rome; and contains a list of greetings, of unexampled length, to persons whose presence in the capital, or rather whose acquaintance with Paul, is inexplicable. But the difficulty of ascertaining the real residence of these persons is not so great as that of explaining the connection of this passage with the Epistle to the Romans if it does not actually belong there.

Ch. xvi. 25 ff. stands in more than 200 MSS. at the end of ch. xiv., in others (also *Cod. A*) in both places. Several ancient versions also favor the earlier position, and Church Fathers attest it, although they are not agreed. Only a few MSS., among them, however, *B, C, D, S*, place the doxology at the end; so also especially the Vulgate and the Latin Fathers. In some witnesses it is wholly lacking. Marcion is said to have omitted chs. xv., xvi. altogether from his copy; see Origen, *ad loc.* (Otherwise F. Nitzsch, in *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1860, II.; *dissecuit*, he cut to pieces, mutilated, not cut out.) J. S. Semler (*De duplici appendice ep. ad Rom.*, Halle, 1767) pronounced these chapters to be two different (Pauline) essays, not designed for Rome at all. Cf. Koppe, in his *Comm.*, p. 403 ff. — Schulz (*Studien*, 1829, III. 609) passes similar judgment upon ch. xvi. — Baur (in previous essays, and finally *Paulus*, 398 f. [E. tr. I. 352]) pronounces the whole division chs. xv., xvi. a much later pseudo-Pauline writing, the design of which was to make concessions to the Jewish Christians of Rome, and to represent Paul as the friend of all the Roman notables. Cf. Schweigler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 123. Against this view Kling, in the *Studien*, 1837, II. 308. [Delitzsch, in the *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1849, p. 609 ff.; Th. Schott, *Isag.*, 119 ff.; Wieseler, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, XX. 598 ff.; Riggenbach, in the *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1868, p. 41 ff.] Böttger, *Beiträge*, III. 34; *Nachträge*, p. 47. — J. W. Straatman, in the *Leidner theol. Zeitschrift*, 1868, I., would regard chs. xii.–xiv. and xvi. as a portion of the Epistle to the Ephesians, but ch. xv. as a (revised) portion of the Epistle to the Romans. Against him, M. A. N. Rovers, *ibidem*, III. [Lucht, *Ueber d. beiden letzt. Kap. d. Römerbriefs*, B. 1871.]

It is possible (with Griesbach, Harwood, Matthæi, Schott, Brosset) to append the doxology to ch. xiv. without anything following therefrom against the genuineness of the remaining part of the Epistle; cf. Eph. iii. 20, 21. Yet it is not easy to see why it should have fallen out there if that was its original place, since ch. xvi. had a good close without it, and consequently some mishap must have thrown the leaves into confusion very early (Griesbach, *Opp.*, II. 63). The resumption of the subject finds an analogue in 2 Cor. ix., Phil. iii. 1. The forgery of the Epistle at Rome itself, and not until some time after the apostolic period, seems, to say the least, like a rash piece of work. — All from xv. 1 on certainly applies chiefly to Jewish Christians. But what of the whole Epistle? (§ 109.) Ch. xv. 1 applies particularly

to advanced Christians ; in vss. 2, 7 all are exhorted to harmony, therefore placed on a level with one another. Vs. 8 should not be separated from vs. 9 : Christ is the Saviour of both Jew and Gentile, not simply of one or the other, iii. 29 ; the one fact showing the truthfulness of God, iii. 4 ; ix. 6 ; xi. 29 ; the other his grace, xi. 17 ff., 31. — The commendation of xv. 14 is found also in i. 8, 12 ; and if it seem somewhat too flattering, so also is 1 Cor. i. 5, in spite of the reproof further on. — Ch. xv. 15 ff. precludes malicious insinuations, and is a more detailed carrying out of the introduction, where, moreover (i. 5, 13), Gentiles and Jews are brought sufficiently near each other. Paul does not intend to remain in Rome permanently, but to use the Romans and their friendship to establish for himself a new field of labor. If xv. 23 is somewhat boastful, it is certainly Paul himself, and not a forger who has that to answer for, as soon as his plan for the tour, i. 11, 15, is acknowledged to be genuine. A spirit of self-respect and modesty breathes through xv. 18 as in 1 Cor. xv. 8 ff. Nor is it true that xv. 20 (contradicting i. 11) is intended to forbid Paul's preaching at Rome, for but just before, xv. 1 ff., he has been preaching, and in vs. 29 he announces his intention of proclaiming the gospel still further upon his arrival.

Ch. xvi. 1-20, however, is not addressed to Rome, see vs. 3. Aquila and Priscilla are in Ephesus immediately before, 1 Cor. xvi. 19, and two years afterward, 2 Tim. iv. 19. There alone are the first fruits of Asia (vs. 5) to be looked for, Acts xviii. 19. There, or at least not in Rome, are we to look for those persons who had been in prison with Paul, had worked with him, had rendered a mother's service to him, whom he knows and loves, vss. 6-13, or of whom he knows the time of their conversion, vs. 7, and of none of whom mention is made in the two epistles written from Rome (Phil., 2 Tim.). The warning, vss. 17, 18, has no foundation in the whole Epistle to the Romans. Phœbe, therefore, was traveling to Ephesus ; may the other or principal epistle have been sent from there, or the vicinity, to Rome, and a misapprehension or an accident have left the recommendation attached thereto ? — Ewald also pronounces the passage (though only from vs. 3 on) to be an epistle to Ephesus (but written from Rome). Cf. Laurent, *Neutestil. Studien*, p. 32 ff.

112. The return journey from Corinth to Asia Paul made by land through Macedonia, receiving into his party at every stopping place representatives of the churches with the contributions collected for Jerusalem. It was, as it were, a long series of farewell visits, amid anxious forebodings on the part of the pupils and inspiring benedictions by the master, which obtained a yet higher inspiration from his own courageous look into the dark future. The farther he went, the more pressing became the dissuasions of friends, and the more was he urged forward by an inner power ; his hour had come. The latter part of the journey was made by water. In Jerusalem there awaited him a friendly welcome from the heads of the church, but also a warning of the unfavorable attitude of the multitude. Jews and Jewish Christians alike considered him an apostate. A few days afterward his presence in the court of the temple was the occasion of a popular tumult ; he himself escaped certain death only by the help of the Roman guard. The myriads of Jews whom James had extolled to him as believers did not raise a finger to save him. After a

series of dramatic incidents, which are vividly described in our records, a detachment of the city garrison conducted him, more for his own safety than as one suspected of crime, to the Roman headquarters at Cæsarea.

Sources : Acts xx.-xxiii. — The scene with the elders of Ephesus and the farewell address to them, of all that the Acts tell us of Paul, is that which expresses most fully his mental characteristics and his style as they are known from the Epistles. Cf. C. L. P. Metelercamp. *De P. ad Presbyteros Ephes. oratione valedictoria*, Traj. 1829. [Tholuck, in the *Studien*, 1839, p. 305 ff. ; Klostermann, *Vindiciæ Luc.*, p. 40 ff. ; Trip, *Paulus*, p. 206 ff. On this section in general, Conyb. & Howson, II. ch. xx. ; Farrar, II. ch. xl.]

The scene at Jerusalem, xxi. 20 ff., is well adapted to characterize the Christianity of that city and its relation to that of Paul (§ 52 ff.), but not to place the character of the Apostle himself in a true light. So likewise the apologetic discourses of Paul following as a whole are not to be used directly as records of his mental likeness, but rather to determine the particular tendencies of the author of the history (see §§ 208, 210), and more than all as illustrations of the way in which the pressure of the moment may be met by wise use of circumstances.

The scene before the Sanhedrin, xxiii. 1 ff., is intelligible, but only provided we attribute great weaknesses to the character of the Apostle, and assume, furthermore, that the Pharisees in the council knew less of Paul than the people in the city, and, finally, substitute for the alleged cause of the controversy — the existence of angels and the reality of a resurrection — something lying deeper. Perhaps the discussion was merely desultory, and the danger which the officer saw (vs. 10) came from the other side. The narrative in this form comes neither from Paul nor from an eye-witness. Cf. in general Baur's *Paulus*, p. 193 [E. tr. I. 195] , J. F. Cramer, *P. in synedrio verba faciens*, Jena, 1735.

113. There, upon a fair trial, his cause must speedily have been decided in his favor, and there would have been no doubt of his release, had not the ill-will of the then governor, Antonius Felix, a polished knave, who, although on the throne of royal power, exhibited the base soul of a slave, delayed it under all sorts of pretexts. Either he hoped to compel the prisoner to buy from him that which was his due, or on account of his former negligent administration he was unwilling to exasperate the Jews against him yet more by releasing the hated man. Since his successor also, Porcius Festus, seemed inclined to deny him the decision of his case, Paul, in his capacity as a Roman citizen, appealed to the emperor, and accordingly must be conducted, at the earliest opportunity, to Rome. His imprisonment at Cæsarea had lasted two years. It had been, however, a mild confinement, and the intercourse of the Apostle with his friends had been in no wise interfered with. He had the honor, moreover, of being permitted to appear before princes and lords, and before prominent women of the court, and to relate his history to their curiosity.

Sources : Acts xxiv.-xxvi. Cf. also the following section. Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 9 ; *Claudius defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis Judæam provinciam*

equitibus romanis aut libertis permisit ; e quibus Ant. Felix per omnem sævitiam et libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. — J. T. Krebs, De provocatione P. ad Cæsarem, L. 1753.

114. Within the period of this imprisonment at Cæsarea should probably be placed, provided they be acknowledged as genuine, several Pauline Epistles which are generally assigned to a somewhat later time, and regarded as having been written at Rome. These are the Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon. The epistles themselves contain, it is true, no statements sufficient alone to warrant a decision of entire certainty in favor of one city or the other. But the essential basis of the ordinary view is merely the unauthenticated tradition, which has no more value as history than a hundred others of like character. To this it is to be added that with the assignment of place preferred by us certain difficulties disappear, which otherwise oppose an almost insuperable obstacle to the determination of the sequence of the remaining epistles. Again, the mood of the Apostle in these Epistles does not appear to be that of depression, which agrees better with his circumstances while at Cæsarea, for from Rome he speaks in quite a different tone.

Were the Epistles mentioned spurious (§§ 121, 123) the question would be of no interest, or rather would be decided in advance in favor of Rome, since, as the tradition respecting our Epistles shows, in later times, whenever an imprisonment of Paul was mentioned, that at Rome was always first thought of. The contradictions, on that supposition, would be simply the oversights of the forger.

But supposing them to be genuine, together with Philippians and 2 Timothy, the very impossibility of placing them all, chronologically, at Rome is an unanswerable argument for dividing them between Cæsarea and Rome. This impossibility is apparent from the following considerations, among others : (1.) In 2 Tim. iv. 12 Paul says he has sent Tychichus to Ephesus ; since he announces this sending in Eph. vi. 21 and Col. iv. 7, 2 Tim. was evidently written later. (2.) When Paul wrote to the Colossians, etc., Timothy was with him, Col. i. 1, Philem. 1 ; therefore 2 Tim., by which he was called to Rome, was written before them. (3.) Demetrius is with Paul, Col. iv. 14, Philem. 24, but already gone, 2 Tim. iv. 10 ; the latter is therefore the later writing. (4.) Timothy is to bring Mark with him, iv. 11. He is actually present, Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24 ; therefore 2 Tim., by which Timothy is called to Rome, was written earlier. To solve these contradictions endless journeys and more endless hypotheses have been invented, into which we do not need to go further. Such contradictions are not to be compared with the case of a single proper name (Epaphroditus, Phil. iv. 18 ; Epaphras, Col. i. 7 ; iv. 12 ; Philem. 23), and the less as there is nothing to compel us to identify these two persons, nor, even if this be done, is the successive presence of the same individual at different places anything inconceivable. Since Luke and Aristarchus went with Paul to Rome (Acts xxvii. 1), their presence in Cæsarea previous (the latter in confinement) is natural ; Col. iv. 10, 14 ; Philem. 24. In Rome Aristarchus was in some way separated from Paul ; 2 Tim. iv. 11.

The combination is clear and simple, supposing Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon to have been written at Cæsarea, while many persons were about

Paul, and he was in general in good spirits in their company ; and that at the time of his departure (§ 125) most of them had left, and upon arriving in Rome, in order not to be entirely alone, he called Timothy to him again. The adverse argument deduced by Hofmann (*N. T.*, IV. 2, p. 190) from Col. iv. 3 disappears upon a correct interpretation of the passage. The Apostle wishes the Colossians to pray for his release that he may labor (in Rome or elsewhere) for the gospel, for the sake of which he is now in bonds in Cæsarea.

Earlier discussions of this question : D. Schulz, in the *Studien*, 1829, III. 612 ; J. Wiggers, *ibidem*, 1841, II. 436 ; Schott, *Isagoge*, p. 271 ; Böttger, *Beiträge*, II. 47 ; C. Graul, *De Schulzii et Schottii sententia scriptis P. epp. ad Eph. cett. in cæsar. captivitate*, L. 1836 ; Wieseler, *Chronol.*, 375 [Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 144 ; Weiss, in Herzog's *Encyklop.*, XIX. p. 718 ; Zöckler, in Vilmar's *Pastoral-theol. Blätter*, 1863, p. 277 ; Meyer, *Introd. to Comm. on Eph.*, p. 18 ; Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, p. 321 ff. ; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 767 ff.], and, in general, the modern special Introductions to the Epistles in question. Thiersch (*Ap. K.*, p. 151) would even place 2 Timothy in this period, and the Gospel of Luke, which would throw the whole combination into confusion. The account of the earthquake which is said to have visited Colossæ (Eusebius, *Chron. ad ann. 9 Neronis*, cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV. 27) is not chronologically definite enough to infer anything therefrom with certainty as to the time and place of composition of these Epistles.

115. Among the friends who visited the Apostle during his imprisonment, and perhaps remained with him for a considerable time, those are especially prominent whose homes were in Asia Minor, and to whom the condition of that region was in part better known and in part lay nearer their hearts : Tychicus, Epaphroditus, Timothy. Their presence greatly refreshed Paul's remembrance of the Asiatic churches, kept him informed as to the progress of spiritual development within the Church, and at the same time gave him the opportunity of exerting a constant influence upon this development by epistolary intercourse. What he had learned by experience during his own stay in Ephesus, what had already occupied his attention in his previous correspondence with Timothy and Titus, impressed itself upon his mind more and more : that it was not the opposition of the Pharisees, in itself considered, which the Church had most to fear, — this could not in the end suppress the spirit of the gospel, — but this so-called progressive philosophy, which pretended to go beyond the gospel ; this false Gnosis, which either in sincerity sought, or, more often, falsely professed to have found, the central point of the religious life, not in a pure heart devoted to God, but in the fantastic speculations of the intellect.

Cf. §§ 72 and 129. — It is important to keep sharply in mind that as the Christian ideas, in their deeper significance, and not merely as Jewish expectations, became more and more widely spread among the different strata of the Gentile population, of indefinitely more various training, both the action and the reaction became more and more manifold. Inasmuch as there was thus introduced at first a mere process of fermentation, from which no complete theories arose, it was not easy even for Paul himself to distinguish the elements when the heathen and the Jewish, the speculative and the mystical,

sincerity and deception, appeared daily in new combinations ; now bringing something foreign into the Church, now borrowing something from it and making use of it outside. The Church was no longer the handful of pious but narrow souls, quietly awaiting what was to come ; she had already tasted of the tree of knowledge, and must now, with her eyes open, first of all, cover her nakedness, and, having lost the near paradise of which she had dreamed, find her way through the world amid contention and labor. The essential contrast between Jewish and Gentile Christianity henceforth lies not in this or that doctrine of the Law, but in the *προσδοκᾶν* (Matth. xi. 3) of the one party as opposed to the *ἀγνοῦν* (Col. i. 29) of the other.

116. It became evident to the Apostle, by weighing against each other the elements foreign to the gospel brought in by the two, that the party of opposition was less to be feared than the party of progress. And whereas before he had been content simply to point out the fact that the plain preaching of the crucified Redeemer was more than all the wisdom of the world, and had even allowed the reproach of foolishness, which the world casts upon such preaching, to pass as its triumph, he now delighted to present it as the very highest philosophy. Far from changing the most minute point, he knew how to bring out that aspect of the gospel which offers to the deep needs of the mind the richest material and the most lasting satisfaction, without withdrawing the believer from the sphere of his inner soul-life, or from his outward life in society. If he had once written to the Corinthians that the gospel could indeed, to those of full age in Christian development, but only to such, be preached as a philosophy, then certainly he, who most of all was of full age, might well prefer this method of preaching when his object was to drive a false philosophy from the field.

Cf. 1 Cor. i. 18 ff., ii. 2, 6 f., with Eph. iii. 10, Col. ii. 3. Just here it may be noticed that even from his later point of view only the positive, affirmative part of his doctrine is entirely clear and certain in the mind of the Apostle. That which he opposes and denies is imperfectly described and vague in its outlines (§ 129). This philosophy apart from the gospel (Col. ii. 8), should one attempt to summarize all the characteristics given of it, would still be a mixture of metaphysico-theosophic speculation and Judaistic ascetic scholasticism (vss. 8, 16, 18, 21 ff.), and one would be obliged to invent a heretic of his own (§ 123) in order to give the picture any concrete reality. But there was no object in sifting out these characteristics when it was sufficient to proclaim the law of truth, before which all *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, idolatry, precepts for fasting, superstition, demonology, must alike bow. Of such a warning, each one might take to heart that part which especially applied to him. Moreover, in spite of usage elsewhere, there is no necessity (according to Gal. iv. 3, 9, not even a possibility) of understanding by the *στοιχεῖα* mentioned heavenly powers, and therefore of looking for more definite information as to the nature and tendency of the speculation in question in Col. ii. 8, 20. — Neither do we include under this head the *ἀντικείμενοι* of 1 Cor. xvi. 9 (as Gentile or Jewish opponents).

117. Close acquaintance with the strange doctrines and misconceptions furnished him with startling parallels, striking

antitheses, and grand and decisive words, which widened the field of the gospel preaching, and at the same time favored its scientific working out. There was developed from this contact with new opposites a gospel metaphysics, which held fast to the doctrine of the divinity of the person of Jesus, but took God as the standpoint whence to view the work of salvation, rather than the individual consciousness, as had been usual before. True, the way was prepared thereby for a still greater separation among the members of the Church at a later period, since in the realm of thought minds more easily go asunder, and less readily keep step with one another than in matters of practical life; and besides, men are unfortunately inclined to consider the former the principal thing.

It should be stated emphatically that the unlikeness, as respects doctrinal contents, between the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians on the one side and those to the Ephesians and Colossians on the other does not extend to any material contradiction in the constituent divisions and articles of the Pauline type of doctrine, but is due to the different point of view. In the former it is subjective and psychological, in the latter objective and theological. Different sides of a dogma are therefore brought into the foreground, but none which would be foreign to or would contradict the former conception and presentation. On the Christology of Col. i. 15 ff., cf. § 122. On the appropriately so-called Pauline Gnosis, cf. the summary in Lipsius, *Gnosticismus*, p. 38.

118. It is from these speculations, for which the Apostle found the necessary leisure during his involuntary removal from the wonted activity of his life-work, and which had as their basis the conversations with the above-mentioned friends, who brought him news from the churches, that the Epistles to the Christians of Ephesus and Colossæ must have resulted. They touch each other in many points in their subject-matter, quite noticeably also in their course of thought, and certainly are not very far apart in time of composition. This similarity, however, is not such that we should be obliged to say that the last written was an extract from the first, or, on the other hand, an amplification of it. The intellectual independence of the author, which, while keeping the contents of his preaching invariable, yet stamps it into forms so manifold, is to be recognized here no less than elsewhere. There is no need to find in the close relationship of the two Epistles ground to suspect the genuineness of one, as a mere imitation of the other.

We recognize the fact that in view of the many peculiarities of these Epistles a thorough investigation of them with respect to their genuineness and their relation to each other is justified, and we grant also that there are some phenomena that give cause for doubt. So long, however, as the most contradictory hypotheses can be framed, which, moreover, depend upon the assumption that there were, even until far into the second century, numbers of men who were quite competent to imitate so strikingly the style of the

Apostle, it will be permitted us to wait and see if the conclusion cannot be arrived at in the old way.

The two Epistles stand or fall together, even more on account of their inward than their outward relationship (cf. also the following section, and the similar relation of the Pastoral Epistles). If intentional imitation is to be assumed, or imitation proceeding from mental impotence (the latter is excluded at the outset by the loftiness of the theological standpoint), it is certainly the case of a writer who has made use of his own previous work, and not of another's. The assumption of two forgers will always be a strong point against the negative criticism, although with a single one it might perhaps have made some impression formerly. De Wette makes the Epistle to the Ephesians to be a counterfeit of the genuine Epistle to the Colossians; Mayerhoff, on the other hand, holds precisely the reverse; Schwegler makes them to stand in the first relation to each other, but regards both as spurious; Holtzmann, finally (§ 123), considers the first wholly spurious, and the second a recast of a genuine epistle by another hand, in which the components can still be distinguished line by line.

The great affinity of the two Epistles, such as exists in like degree nowhere else in the writings of Paul, cannot be denied; yet even in so detailed a comparison as that of De Wette (§ 146), regard is had chiefly to the diction only, overlooking the diversity of material in connection with the complete identity of theological standpoint, and in consequence holding out to criticism a false light; yet, even thus, this comparison sufficiently shows, amid all the similarity, the perfectly free treatment of the thought in both epistles, even in point of form. For the comparison ought in reality to be made so that the essential fact might appear, that the most of the affinity consists merely in single thoughts, striking words and forms of expression, and not in the repeated exposition of one and the same theme. In the Epistle to the Ephesians the Christological theme which in Col. i. 14 ff., ii. *passim*, is brought forward and developed in detail, is only alluded to (i. 10, 21 f.). The theoretically developed doctrine of predestination and of the unity of the Catholic Church (Eph. i., ii.) is nowhere taken up in the Epistle to the Colossians. Of the whole second chapter of Colossians only vss. 11, 13, 14 (mostly single words) are found also in Ephesians (ii. 5, 11, 15), and these in a wholly different connection, and in part for a wholly different purpose. Col. ii. 19 belongs in the train of thought of Christ's divine dignity and unique significance for the Church, Eph. iv. 16 in the train of thought of the organization and unity of the Church. In Eph. iii. 1 ff. the thought of the gospel of the New Covenant in general, which culminates in the reconciliation of mankind among themselves and with God, naturally leads to the Apostle as the bearer of it, and so to a closing doxology and commendation of unity in the church. In Col. i. 24 ff. the mention of the apostolic call leads the way to the declaration of his own care and to polemics. There is everywhere, therefore, not so much a dependence of one epistle upon the other as of both upon one and the same ruling tone and mental occupation at the time, and no question is longer admissible except whether this can have been that of the Apostle Paul.

A. van Bemmelen, *De epp. P. ad Eph. et Col. inter se collatis*, Leyd. 1803; Hofmann, N. T., IV. 2, p. 169 ff.; S. Hoekstra, *Vergelyking v. d. Br. aan de Efeziërs en de Colossers* (from the point of view of the doctrinal contents), in the *Leidner theol. Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 599 ff.

119. This suspicion is excluded also by the great difficulty of forming a definite judgment as to the chronological order of the two Epistles, so long at least as they are considered with regard to their style alone. Both possible views have found

their warm and devoted defenders. Their real relation, however, is to be apprehended from another point of view. In the Epistle to the Colossians Paul enters more into the individual life of the church, of which he had obtained full information through Epaphroditus; the instruction takes on the form of polemic, in which the opposed doctrines are clearly apprehended. In the Epistle to the Ephesians the presentation of the philosophy of the gospel is more theoretical and fundamental, and less affected by purely local necessities. With this character of the latter Epistle is connected also the fact that the author considered it fitted to be read immediately in wider circles, for which reason he directed the Colossians to obtain it, and to this end probably instructed Tychicus to aid the Ephesians in its circulation. This is at least as yet the simplest explanation of a hint which from ancient times has been very differently understood. If it be erroneous, we must suppose a third epistle, now lost, written at the same time to the church of Laodicea. But if it be well founded, then it is clear that the Epistle to the Colossians is the later.

The majority of interpreters who accept both epistles as Pauline hold the opposite view as regards priority, without perceiving that with the above opinion nothing is necessarily said of the idea of the spuriousness of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It has been shown in the preceding section that neither the hypothesis of extract nor that of amplification is tenable, but that there were different motives and purposes in the writing of the two. Aside from Col. iv. 16, which is decisive even of itself, supposing like thoughts to be repeated in a subsequent epistle, would they more naturally occur the second time in a shorter or a longer form? Manifestly the former. Now compare the actual parallel passages Eph. v. 21-vi. 9 with Col. iii. 18-iv. 1; Eph. vi. 18-20 with Col. iv. 2-4, while Eph. vi. 10-17 is wholly lacking. If it were true that Eph. vi. 21, 22 (*καὶ ὑμεῖς*), really could have been written only after Col. iv. 7 f., the assumption of a postscript would cause no difficulty at all. But it evidently refers to the fact that Paul himself had previously had experience of *τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς*.

Our idea is, therefore, that the presence and request of Epaphroditus, who had not found the first Epistle specially adapted to and sufficient for the needs of his church, furnished the occasion for the second, which, after all, had its root in quite similar circumstances and views. For this very reason, however, because he had not exactly to write something different, and yet did not wish merely to copy himself, the thought would finally occur to Paul to have the first Epistle, in which the fundamental principles of theology were laid down, circulated (Col. iv. 16), a purpose for which it was perhaps not originally intended.

The details of the hypotheses as to the destination of the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians (circular, to the Laodiceans, etc.) may be found in the literature cited in § 120, and in the following monographs, which, at least the more modern of them, usually consider also the question of genuineness: H. C. A. Hänlein, *De lectoribus quibus cett.*, Erl. 1797; F. Rinck, in the *Studien*, 1849, IV.; cf. Benson, *History of the Ap.*, II. 342; III. 55; Guerike, *Beiträge*, 99; Böttger, *Beiträge*, III. 35; A. Kamphausen, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1866, IV.; A. Kiene, in the *Studien*, 1869, II. Bleek (*Einl.*, 450) combines both the above hypotheses, so that Ephesus is wholly

left out, and was only introduced by mistake, later. Hofmann also (*N. T.*, IV., I., p. 275 ff.) cuts loose entirely from the name, and arrives at the idea of a doctrinal writing perhaps to be numbered among the so-called Catholic Epistles, which Tycheus delivered to the churches in a certain order. According to Ewald (*Sieben Sendschreiben*, p. 153), a later disciple of Paul wrote a general epistle to all Gentile Christians on the never yet expressed and pregnant thoughts of the dignity and unity of the Gentile Church, now independent of that of Jerusalem, and borrowed the form therefor from Col. iv. 7, leaving space for the names of particular places in i. 1.

K. Rudrauff, *De ep. Laodicensium*, Giess. 1680; J. Usserius, *De ep. ad Laod.*, in his *Hist. dogmatis de scr. vernaculis*, p. 300; C. Vitringa, *De genuino titulo ep. ad Eph.*, Franeg. 1722; M. A. Verpoorten, *De ep. P. ad Laod.* (Diss., p. 120); C. J. Huth, *Ep. ex Laod. in encyclia ad Eph. adservata*, Erl. 1751; P. E. Jablonski, *De ep. scripta Laodicea* (Opp., III. 202); L. J. C. Justi, *Abh.*, II. 81; M. Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 153; R. Anger, *Ueber den Laodicener-Brief*, L. 1843; C. W. Stein, *Comm. zum Lucas*, Appendix; A. Sartori, *Ueber den Laod. Brief*, Lüb. 1853.

If Marcion changed the title to *Ad Laod.* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion*, v. 11, 17), this may have been an exegetical conjecture from Col. iv. 16. If ancient MSS. omit, or did omit (Basil, *Cont. Eunom.*, ii. 19; *Codd. Sin.* and *B*), the name Ephesians, i. 1, this might indicate either an accidental clerical error (since the title is not wanting), or an intentional omission on the part of those who wished to establish the general destination of the Epistle. It is improbable that Paul had copies prepared without name, with blank for the name, or with different names; and just as improbable that Marcion forged a whole epistle (Von Gilse, *De canone murator.*, p. 28). See in general Flatt, *Opp.*, p. 435; Graul (§ 114), p. 38; Wieseler, *Chronol.*, p. 434; Aberle, in the *Quartalschr.*, 1852, I. In any case this enigma can furnish no sufficient argument against genuineness.

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120. The Epistle to the Ephesians treats the whole economy of the New Covenant, from beginning to end, as something which was determined upon and existed in the mind of God from the beginning, both as a whole and in its details. It lays down the doctrine of the universality of the plan which embraces all intelligent creatures, bridges the gulf between heaven and earth, and breaks down the wall of separation between Jew and Gentile, and then goes on to make especially prominent, above all else, the doctrine of election with reference to those who actually attain to salvation. Herein is a treasure of wisdom, which is matter for profound admiration even to higher beings; here also is revealed to the investigating, struggling mind of man the way to a fullness of knowledge and of indwelling in God which makes all other unnecessary. This latter idea, how very wrong one would be to seek elsewhere, and in vain, what is here offered in rich abundance, gives the Epistle its immediate and practical significance, and stamps it with the impress of a mind which rose to the loftiest heights in theological matters, and at the same time preached most forcibly the whole range of Christian duty. But the word does not always keep pace with the idea, and the awkwardness of the connection is as noticeable as the free movement of the thought.

Literature : H. van Alphen, *Diss. isag. in ep. ad Eph.* (Misc. Groen., I. 332) ; Ziegler, *Beitr. zur Einl. in den Brief an die Eph.* (Henke, Mag., IV. 225) ; Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 133 ; G. C. A. Lünemann, *De ep. ad Eph. authentia, lectoribus, consilio*, Gött. 1842 ; F. Coulin, *Recherches critiques sur l'ép. aux Ephésiens*, Gen. 1851.

G. F. Gude, *De eccles. ephesinæ statu ævo apost.*, L. 1732 ; W. Copland Perry, *De rebus [politicis] Ephesiorum*, Gött. 1837.

C. F. Pezold, *De sublimitate P. in prioribus capp. ep. ad Eph.*, L. 1771 ; J. F. Burg, *Analysis logica*, etc., L. 1708 ; C. T. Seidel, *Vom Endzwecke*, etc., Helmst. 1739 ; E. Coquerel, *Études dogmatiques sur l'ép. aux Ephésiens*, Str. 1852. [Farrar, II. ch. lii. ; Conyb. & H., II. 394 ff. ; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, 776 ff.] — Special dogmatic essays on ch. i. 9, 10 : Ernesti, 1765 ; Nösselt, 1781. On i. 15 f. : Morus (*Diss.*, II. 242) ; G. F. Redslob, Str. 1829 ; Winzer, L. 1836. On i. 19 : Griesbach, 1778. On iii. 14 ff. : Nösselt, 1800. On iv. 1 ff. : Winzer, 1839. On iv. 11 ff. : J. G. C. Höpfner, L. 1789 ; Niemeyer, 1791 ; Morus, 1792 ; Schott, 1830. On vi. 10 ff. : Winzer, 1840 ; W. Röther, in the *Studien*, 1835, IV.

Commentaries on the whole Epistle : H. A. Röell, Traj. 1715, 2 vols. 4° ; M. Hanneken, 1731 ; T. J. A. Schütze, 1778 ; J. G. Rosenmüller (in the *Repertor.*, VIII.) ; J. A. Cramer, 1782 ; F. A. W. Krause, 1789 ; F. A. Holzhausen, 1833 ; L. I. Rückert, 1834 ; G. C. A. Harless, 1834 ; F. C. Meier, 1834 ; C. S. Matthies, 1834 ; C. Sederholm, 1845 ; R. Stier, 1859 ; A. Monod, P. 1867. — F. Bleek, *Vorlesungen über die Briefe an die Col., Philem., u. Eph.*, B. 1865. [G. F. Gude, Lauban, 1735 ; S. J. Baumgarten, *Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Philem., Thess.*, Halle, 1767 ; Flatt, *Gal., Eph.*, Tüb. 1828 ; Baumgarten-Crusius, Jena, 1847 ; C. N. Kähler, Kiel, 1854 ; Braune, in Lange's *Bibelw.*, Bielef. 1867, E. tr. N. Y. 1870 ; Hofmann, *N. T.*, IV. 1, Nördl. 1870 ; Ewald, *Sieben Sendschr.*, Gött. 1870 ; Holtzmann, *Eph., Col.*, L. 1872 ; Ernst, 1877 ; Koster, 1877 (Dutch) ; Hahn, 4th ed. 1878 ; John Eadie, Lond. 1854, N. Y. 1861 ; C. J. Ellicott, Lond. 1855, Andover, 1862 ; Ch. Hodge, N. Y. 1856 ; S. H. Turner, N. Y. 1856 ; R. E. Pattison, Boston, 1859 ; J. Longking, *Gal., Eph.*, N. Y. 1863 ; J. L. Davies, *Eph., Col., Philem.*, Lond. 1867 ; J. Pulsford, *Christ and his Seed*, Lond. 1872 ; R. S. Candlish, Edinb. 1875 ; R. J. McGhee, N. Y. 1879.]

121. Notwithstanding the manifold points of accord with the usual style of Paul which meet the attentive reader everywhere in this Epistle, it has yet in modern times found, in many quarters and to an increasing degree, an unfavorable reception, and been suspected as a forgery. In so far as it is attempted to base such doubts upon the absence of any reference to the personal relations of the writer to the Ephesians, there is either a failure to see what is really present, or one-sided and unreasonable demands are made. The peculiar character of the theological exposition, provided its elements be compared, without prejudice, with the doctrinal matter known from other sources, is sufficiently explained from what has been said. Rash hypotheses, however much they may have commended themselves, in consequence of their inadequacy or strangeness, can only testify against themselves, not against the Epistle ; and the myriads of touches here and there which forbid the idea of a fraudulent imitation by another hand furnish good means of defense against every attack.

The first ground of suspicion, — that of its relation to the Epistle to the Colossians, — which was made prominent in the earlier period of criticism (De Wette), has been removed in § 118. With this was connected, and as strongly emphasized, the alleged fact that Paul speaks as a stranger to his readers, which is inconceivable, supposing him to have been writing to the Ephesians. But ἀκούσας, i. 15, bearing in mind that Paul may have obtained information while in prison, is as plain as 1 Cor. v. 1 ; xi. 18 (Col. i. 4, 9 ; 2 Thess. iii. 11) ; εἰγε ἠκούσατε, iii. 2, does not presuppose a doubt as to whether the readers had ever heard of Paul, which would imply that the forger was an ass ; but the meaning is, *since ye know*, Gal. i. 13 ; cf. Eph. iv. 21. — There are, it is said, no greetings to friends in this Epistle (2 Cor., Gal., Thess.) ; no trace whatever of personal relations (but this part of the message was to be delivered verbally, vi. 21 f., and the writer evidently knew whom he had before him and takes direct interest in his readers, i. 15 ; ii. 11, 19 ; iii. 1 ; iv. 20). When Paul writes a simple letter of friendship (1 Thess., Phil.), it is trivial, and consequently spurious, because a definite didactic character is wanting ; if this is present, then its spuriousness is clear from the lack of the other element. Must then the two elements always be combined according to a definite rule ? Is it so among us ? Are any two of these Epistles alike in this respect ?

Again, there are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in it. True, as in every epistle ; even ἄφεσις, the forgiveness of sins, is one of them ; is it to be supposed, therefore, that the genuine Paul knew nothing of this ? Ch. iii. 4 is unseemly (but 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6 ?) ; the exegesis in iv. 8 is arbitrary (Gal. iii. 16, and many other passages) ; the dissuasion from theft, iv. 28, is surprising (1 Cor. vi. 10 ; 1 Pet. iv. 15) ; so likewise the motive presented in vi. 2 (this is nothing but the Scriptural proof for ἐπαγγελία, and there is nothing to hinder taking the latter in the Christian sense) ; the predicate ἅγιοι, iii. 5 (the meaning is, *consecrated*, ἡγιασμένοι, cf. Jn. xvii. 17 f., and is found in many passages where no idea of offensive boasting is conveyed ; is Rev. xxi. 14 also to be taken as proof of later composition ?) ; the alleged contradiction between iii. 5 and 8 (ἅγιοι — ἐλαχιστότερος τῶν ἁγίων), which, it is said, can only be explained on the basis of later views, may be found also between 1 Cor. xv. 9 and 2 Cor. iii. 8 ff. ; in ch. ii. 20 reference is made to the Apostles as having been there formerly (certainly, for their activity already stretches far back into the past ; and the author does not thereby exclude himself from their number). On the linguistic peculiarities of the Epistle to the Ephesians in particular, see B. A. Lasonder, *De lingue paulinæ idiomate*, Traj. 1866, II. 92 ff. For more important points, see § 123.

A. Niermeyer, *Verhandeling over de Echtheid v. d. Br. v. Paulus aan de Efeziërs*, Haag, 1847 ; D. Harting, *Verhandeling over de Echtheid v. d. Br. aan de Efeziërs*, Haag, 1848 ; W. F. Rinck, *Disp. ad authenticam ep. P. ad Eph. probandam*, Haag, 1848.

122. To what has already been indicated incidentally respecting the contents of the Epistle to the Colossians we must add also the following. In its practical part it resembles the Epistle to the Ephesians very much, both in spirit and expression. But how could it be expected that the Apostle would write much that was different, when the circumstances of his readers were so similar and so short a time had intervened ? In the theoretical part, however, we do find also some things that are really new. Two points are to be considered in particular. First, an exposition, speculative in character, of the nature of the person of the Saviour, which occurs, in

like shape, nowhere else, and which is plainly intended to oppose some alien theosophy. The elements of it, so far as religious conviction is concerned, are to be found in many passages of earlier epistles, though very much scattered; but the scientific elaboration of the doctrine must be derived from and elucidated by early philosophical views. The other point is the more detailed reference to those tendencies which the Apostle at this time found it most necessary to combat.

Christology: In view of what Paul writes in Rom. i. 3, 4, ix. 5, 1 Cor. viii. 6, 2 Cor. iv. 4, and in general, in view of the idea which he undeniably had of the higher dignity of Jesus (without which his theology really floats in the air, although not logically founded upon this dogma), he must surely have had some thought upon the subject. And what could this have been but an application of already extant, pre-Christian speculation, as it was known, indeed, even in the synagogue, to gospel convictions which had been gained independently? That he does not write of it at length before this time shows that elsewhere he follows the principle laid down in 1 Cor. ii. 2, 6, but here, in the very antithesis to false speculation, found urgent cause for departing from it. How primitive this Christology still is, is shown by its own incompleteness, in *πρωτόκοκος τῆς κτίσεως* and *εὐδόκησε*, and in general by comparing it with the ecclesiastical, which found in the New Testament statements only the impulse to speculation, not the final satisfaction of it. (G. Roux, *De la personne de Christ dans l'ép. aux Col.*, Toulouse, 1863.)

The heretics in the case are not a single particular class, occurring only here, and by no means must all the features brought out in the whole Epistle be combined, with the idea that thus will be obtained the characteristics of this class. Truth is one, *κατὰ Χριστὸν*, ii. 8, or *Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*, i. 27. Error is manifold, both in contents (*ἀπάτη*), source (*παράδοσις*), and in grade of knowledge (*στοιχεῖα*): it may consist in the substitution of other intermediate beings in the place of the one head (ii. 10, 18, 19), in a brooding over the mysterious in a false way (ii. 3 f., 18), or in the over-estimation of ascetic precepts and practices (ii. 11, 16, 21 f.). Judaizing tendencies existed by the side of Gnostic, Pharisaic by the side of Essene, having many points in common, although by no means identical.

J. F. Stiebritz, *Platonismus in Cerinthianismo redivivus*, Halle, 1736; Corrodi, *Beiträge*, XII. 1; Schneckenburger, *Proselytentaufe*, p. 187; *Beiträge*, p. 146; *Studien*, 1832, IV.; 439 f. G. F. H. Rheinwald, *De pseudo-doctoribus colossensibus*, 1834; J. E. Osiander, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1834, III.; F. C. Baur, *ibidem*, 1838, III.; J. Barry, *Les faux docteurs de Colosses*, Mont. 1846; D. Charruand, *Fausse doctrines de Col.*, Mont. 1858. [Conyb. & H., II. 383 ff.; Farrar, II. 443 ff.; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 772 ff.]

In general: C. G. Hofmann, *Introd. in lect. ep. P. ad Col.*, Vit. 1739 (cf. § 86); Neander, *Gelegenheitsschriften*, p. 40; W. Böhmer, *Isag. cett.*, B. 1829; Leo Montet, *Introd. in ep. ad Col.*, Mont. 1841; J. F. Flatt, *Obs. ad ep. ad Col. pertinentes* (*Opp.*, p. 489 ff.) — On the true name of the city (on coins and in older MSS., *Κολασσαί*), see the expositors and critics.

Commentaries: N. Byfield (Eng.), 1649, fol.; John (Davenant), Bishop of Salisbury, 1655 [in Latin; E. tr. Lond. 1831, 2 vols.]; G. C. Storr, 1786 [E. tr. Edinb. 1842]; F. Junker, 1828; C. C. W. F. Bähr, 1833; W. Böhmer, 1835; W. Steiger, 1835; E. Huther, 1841. [J. F. Flatt, *Phil., Col., Thess., Philem.*, Tüb. 1829; C. E. F. Dalmer, Gotha, 1858; Braune, in Lange, E. tr. N. Y. 1870; Hofmann, N. T., IV. 2, *Col., Philem.*; Th. Cartwright, Lond. 1612; Eadie, Lond. 1856; Ellicott, *Phil., Col., Philem.*, Lond. 1857, Andover, 1865; Lightfoot, *Col., Philem.*, Lond. 1875; also Baumgarten-Crusius, Bleek, Ewald, and Davies, under Ephesians, § 120.]

According to the usual opinion, Paul did not personally know the church of Colossæ (ii. 1). The words are susceptible of another interpretation (distinguishing the *καὶ ὅροι* from the others mentioned), but apparently a less natural one. Cf. Schulz, in the *Studien*, 1829, III. ; Wiggers, *ibidem*, 1838, I. ; R. W. Montin, *Num. P. Colossis docuerit*, Hels. 1843.

123. Yet it is just this controversial character, and things connected therewith, which has drawn upon this Epistle the suspicion of spuriousness. There was found in it, and rightly, only a somewhat different treatment of the same tendencies of the time as in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and these it was thought necessary to place in immediate connection with known phenomena of the middle of the second century. Both the Epistles thus obtained at once what, upon the former assertion of the spuriousness of but one, was lacking, an intelligible and practical purpose. Yet this hypothesis does not seem at all inevitable; on the contrary, in some respects, very precarious. And it is noteworthy that it is precisely in this second Epistle, which speaks the more plainly of these errors, that the grounds of suspicion have appeared the weaker, even to criticism.

E. T. Mayerhoff, *Der Brief an die Kol. kritisch geprüft*, B. 1838 ; Schweigler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 325 ff., 375 ff. ; Baur, *Paulus*, 417 ff. [E. tr. II. 1 ff.].—A. Klöpper, *De origine epp. ad Eph. et Col. a criticis tubing. e gnosi valentin. deducta*, Gr. 1853 ; Ewald, mostly on grounds of style, holds the view that Timothy, under the direction of Paul, wrote at least the first chapters, while Ephesians is wholly spurious. Among the most recent critics, Hoekstra (§ 118) makes both epistles spurious, by different authors, the aim of the later of whom (Ephesians) is to bring back the work of the earlier (Colossians) nearer to genuine Paulinism ; Holtzmann (*Kritik d. Eph. u. Col. Briefe*, L. 1872) admits a genuine Epistle to the Colossians, which we, however, possess only in a later revision, which the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians undertook with the help of this latter. Against him, B. Weiss, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1872, IV.

The arguments for the later date of the two Epistles are substantially derived from their alleged reference to later ideas, chiefly Gnostic and Montanistic, and from an asserted nearer relationship to so-called Johannean than to genuinely Pauline ideas.

Montanistic is said to be the characterization of the true Church as resting upon continuing prophecy, Eph. ii. 20 ; iii. 5 ; iv. 11 (but the conception of prophecy is deeply inwoven with the essence of the Pauline theology ; its cessation from the standpoint of that theology is inconceivable, and its utterance is described as in 1 Cor. xii. 8 f., 28 ; xiv. 22, etc.) ; also the division of epochs in the life of the Church, compared with the epochs of human life, Eph. iv. 13 (but this is no more the subject here than in Col. i. 28 ; iv. 12 ; 1 Cor. ii. 6, etc., and the whole chapter never for a moment loses sight of the individual as such, in his distinctness) ; again, the emphasis placed upon the holiness of the Church, and the comparison with the marriage relation, Eph. v. 27 ff. (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 2) ; the Paraclete, Eph. i. 14, 17 (= 1 Cor. ii. 4 f., 12 f. ; 2 Cor. i. 22, etc.) ; finally, the impartation of the gifts of the Spirit after the exaltation of Christ, Eph. iv. 7 ff. (is it, then, placed before the exaltation in 1 Cor. xii., Rom. xii. ?).

Gnostic, or at least later than the Pauline theology, are said to be, first, the conception of Christ, Col. i. 15 ff. (but see § 122 and Rev. iii. 14, and cf.

in general the monographs on the passage by P. Abresch, Grön. 1787; C. F. Fritzsche, Gr. 1807; H. A. Niemeyer, Jena, 1826; Schleiermacher, in the *Studien*, 1832, III. [*Theol. Werke*, II. p. 321 ff.]; Holzhausen, in the *Tüb. Zeitschrift*, 1832, IV.; Osiander, *ibidem*, 1833, I., II.; H. Krüger, Str. 1837 [Beyschlag, in the *Studien*, 1860, p. 446 ff.; Bähr, in App. to his *Comm.*, p. 321 ff.; Bleek, on Heb. i. 2; Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, I. 153 ff., II. 357 ff.]; second, the series of angels, or æons, Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16 (see § 129; the Gnostic element contained in these passages is not to be denied; but it is quite old enough, and in the form here presented certainly Jewish enough, to have been known to Paul; see Rom. viii. 38; 1 Cor. xv. 24. Most of the terms used proceed not from an objective classification, but from subjective, rhetorical necessities, and the αἰῶνες of Eph. ii. 7, iii. 21 are no Gnostic orders of intermediate beings; nor is this the case in ii. 2, since we find in Rom. xii. 2 also a personification of the spirit of the age and course of the world). It is further asserted that the πλήρωμα of Col. i. 19, ii. 9, Eph. i. 23, is like that of the Valentinian system; verbally it appears so, but in reality it is quite otherwise; cf. also Nösselt, *Diss. über Col. i. 19*, Halle, 1786; Christ bears in himself the fullness of the divine attributes as εἰκὼν and λόγος, a view which is older than Christianity, is applied to Jesus in the Apocalypse, § 159, and the practical side of which, in genuine Pauline style, is made prominent in Col. ii. 9; Eph. iii. 19; iv. 13; the Church appears as an internally organized body, Eph. ii. 22, Col. ii. 19, etc. (it is evident from Rom. xii. 4; 1 Cor. xii., etc., that the New Testament ideas, consequently also σοφία, Rom. xi. 33; 1 Cor. ii. 6 f.; cf. Eph. iii. 10, were the sources of later systems, and not vice-versa); exception is taken to the relation of the sexes, Eph. v. 22 f. (= 1 Cor. xi. 3 ff.); to the descent into Hades, Eph. iv. 8 f. (quite against the connection; for the quotation concerns gifts conferred after exaltation, and its applicability to Christ is proved by the fact that He first descended (to the earth or into the grave), and so filled and penetrated heaven and earth. And even were the reference to the descent into Hades, it does not follow that this was an idea peculiar to the Gnostics (1 Pet. iii. 18 ff.), and invented by them).—A great number of other expressions, μυστήριον, σοφία, γνῶσις, φῶς, σκοτία, κοσμοκράτωρ, etc., are alleged to show the same relationship to Gnostic ideas. But many of these can be authenticated from the oldest and most undoubted writings of the N. T., and it would be strange and inconceivable that an Orthodox Catholic Christian, writing for the purpose of reconciling Paulinists and Petrinists, should have known no surer means for the accomplishment of this end than to borrow from heretics, who were condemned by all parties, a language foreign to both alike.

Exception has been taken, again, to the connection of love with faith, to Christianity as ἐνέγνωσις, to the mention of Mark and Luke together, upon which see § 128. Col. ii. 11 treats of circumcision and baptism together, while elsewhere, Rom. vi. 4 and ii. 29, they are treated separately. In ch. iii. 11 the Gentiles are placed before the Jews, precisely the opposite in Gal. iii. 28. On these and other points alike indisputable we need not longer dwell. Col. ii. 8, which is said to be directed against a definite Gnostic philosophy, is explained in §§ 72, 116.

Recently, Pfeiderer (*Paulinismus*, p. 366 ff., 431 ff. [E. tr. Lond., 1877, II. 95 ff., 162 ff.]) finds in the polemic of the two Epistles a clearly expressed difference between the heresies combated (and consequently also a difference in time and author). In the Epistle to the Colossians the matter in hand is an advanced Judaism, speculatively and ascetically refined, which its adherents would amalgamate with Christianity. The author of the Epistle to the Ephesians, on the other hand, is preaching to Gentile Christians against immorality and a hyper-Paulinism which inclined especially to Gnostic and dualistic theories, and looked down upon the people of the Old Covenant. He is the first theologian of Catholicism.

124. There is yet a third epistle which as respects both date and destination belongs to the same group: the Epistle to Philemon. This person was a prominent man at Colossæ, a member of the Christian Church of that place, from whom an unfaithful slave, Onesimus, had run away, and, through circumstances unknown to us, had met Paul and been converted by him. The Apostle sent him back, penitent and reclaimed, to his master, in the company of his messenger Tychicus, and gave him also this written commendation. It is the only epistle of so purely personal a character that has come down to us from the pen of Paul, and is a model of tact and delicacy, the expression at once of a noble apprehension of Christian duty and of a bright and amiable humor. The fact that criticism has presumed to call in question the genuineness of these harmless lines only shows that itself is not the genuine thing.

The spirit of this Epistle can scarcely be illustrated more happily than is done by Baur (*Paulus*, 475 ff. [E. tr. II. 80]), and yet this writer finds himself compelled (against his will?) to seek arguments against its genuineness. The first objection, that Ephesians and Colossians are also spurious, is not an argument at all, since the proper names in Col. iv. 7 ff. may have been taken from Philemon; to say that no epistle can be produced with certainty from the period of the imprisonment is a *petitio principii*; seven words which Paul nowhere else uses and one which only occurs in the Ephesians and Colossians (*Jahrbücher*, 1843, p. 509) are certainly more easily counted than those which from other sources are known as Pauline. It must, it is true, have been "a quite unique concurrence of fortuitous circumstances" that led Onesimus to Paul, but that far more conjunctions of this kind occur in reality than in romance is a fact of daily experience; and finally, the fact that romance (the Clementine Homilies) is open to the reproach of similar conjunctions simply shows, as everywhere, that even fiction, in the last analysis, always rests upon reality, not that the facts suitable for the uses of fiction were invented because of this quality. Holtzmann also (*Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift*, 1873, III.) raises suspicion, on the ground of isolated points of contact with the two preceding epistles, and finds in it the third of those which the writer to the Ephesians sent out simultaneously.

Philemon and Archippos are sought by Wieseler (*Chronol.*, 452) and Laurent (*Neutestl. Studien*, p. 100) in Laodicea, on the ground of Col. iv. 17 and Philem. 2.

Literature: J. G. C. Klotzsch, *De occasione et indole ep. ad Philem.*, Vit. 1792; D. H. Wildschut, *De vi dictionis et sermonis elegantia in ep. ad Philem.*, Traj. 1809. Cf. also the articles *Philemon* (by Daniel) and *Onesimus* (by Rettberg) in the Halle *Encyclopedia*. [Meyer, *Introd. to Comm.*]

Commentaries, of modern date: L. C. G. Schmidt, L. 1766; G. C. Storr, 1781; (A. H. Niemeyer?) Halle, 1802; C. R. Hagenbach, Bas. 1829; J. F. I. Demme, Br. 1844; M. Rothe, Brm. 1844; A. Koch, Zür. 1846. Several earlier ones are to be found in the fifth volume of the *Critici Sacri*. [Wiesinger, in Olshausen, 1851, E. tr. by Kendrick, N. Y. 1853; F. R. Kühne, L. 1856; J. J. van Oosterzee, in Lange's *Bibelw.*, XI., E. tr. by H. B. Hackett, N. Y. 1868; see also Bleek, Hofmann, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Eadie, as cited under §§ 120, 122.]

125. Finally, after two long years, toward autumn, the journey to Rome was begun. His friends were already scat-

tered in all directions in the performance of their duty ; Tychicus had returned to the province of Asia with these Epistles ; Timothy had followed him ; Titus was on a tour of inspection in Illyria, Crescens in Galatia. Others had gone to their homes ; Trophimus to Miletus, where sickness detained him ; Erastus to Corinth ; Demetrius to Thessalonica, fearful of the by no means inviting journey ; for Paul would doubtless have been glad to take him with him. Mark also was upon a mission. Only Aristarchus the Macedonian and Luke the physician determined to accompany him, and were still with the Apostle. The courage and trust in God of them all was severely tried. Danger, anxiety, and adventure of every kind awaited them. It was only after many months and utter shipwreck that they reached Italy. Their meeting with certain Roman Christians raised their spirits, but the very next step which Paul was able to take in Rome to place himself in connection with the synagogue was calculated to quench this first joy. That it was not much better on the side of the church itself will soon appear.

The enumeration of these names in the above connection may be taken as an attempt to explain 2 Tim. iv. 9 ff., 20, the natural construction of which passage would not be some posthumous or imaginary journey of the Apostle (an explanation adopted by those who maintain the hypothesis of a second imprisonment, and by those who deny the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles), but solely the oppressive feeling of isolation when one passes in review before the mind his far-distant friends. The greatest stress is laid, upon this view, on what is said of Trophimus and Erastus and on the cloak left at Troas. It is quite plain, it is said, that Paul must recently have been at that place in person. I think not. Paul received his first information from Asia from Onesiphorus, in Rome, at a troublous time (2 Tim. i. 16. f.) ; saluting this man's relatives, iv. 19, Paul says further, by way of postscript, that he had himself desired to bring yet other friends with him to Rome, but of these Erastus had remained at Corinth and Trophimus had been previously left at Miletus on account of sickness. Or, if one prefer to take ἀπέλιπον not as 3d plural, it may be supposed that Paul puts himself back into circumstances as they were at the time of his departure from Cæsarea. — Even Pfeiderer (*Paulinismus*, p. 466 [E. tr. II. 198]) recognizes in this passage a genuine Pauline fragment.

On the journey : G. Laetus, *Pauli ap. peregrinatio Cæsarea Romam*, Leyd. 1639 ; J. Hasæus, in the *Bibl. Brem.*, I. 1, and in Iken's *Thesaurus*, II. 717 ; *ibidem*, dissertations by P. A. Boysen and J. F. Wandalin ; B. L. Eskuche, *De naufragio P.*, Br. 1730 ; P. Wesseling, *De naufragio P.*, Traj. 1743 ; S. Sciuliaga, *Il naufragio di Paolo*, Ven. 1759 ; J. E. J. Walch, *Antiquitates nauticæ ex itinere P. romano*, Jena, 1767 ; J. H. Larsen, *Iter P. maritimum*, etc., Arhus, 1821. [Farrar, II. 362 ; Conyb. and H., II. 299 ; Jas. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. P.*, Lond. 1880.]

The last years of the apostolic age in general, from the arrival of Paul in Rome to the destruction of Jerusalem, are treated with reference to the literature by E. Renan, *L'Antechrist*, P. 1873. Cf. H. Opitz, *Schicksale und Schriften des Ap. P. während seiner Gefangenschaft zu Rom*, Zw. 1858.

Paul's haste, upon his arrival in Rome, first of all to place himself on a good footing with the Jews, may have been in the interest of his cause (Acts

xxviii. 17 ff.), yet cf. §§ 202 and 210 on the predominant regard had in the Acts to the ecclesiastical and theological significance of the facts related. The conjecture of Baumgarten (*Apostelgesch.*, III. 470 ff.) that Paul, at the sight of the Roman Christians, regarded his mission as apostle to the Gentiles as completed, and therefore at the end (Rom. xi. 25) turned again to the Jews, ascribes to him a strange delusion and a contradiction (Rom. xv. 23). Still, it is surprising that the Jews profess to know Christianity (*ἀλγεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς*, Acts xxviii. 22) only from hearsay, as something everywhere (by the Jews) rejected. This can only be understood of Pauline Christianity (*ἡ φρονεῖς*); that of Rome may have separated itself as little from the synagogue as that of Jerusalem. Cf. §§ 106 ff. *Obss. in acta P. romana*, Gött. 1822 ff. Pts. I.-III.

126. For his cause did not go as justice would have demanded, nor as Paul doubtless expected when he appealed. When distant from the throne one is apt to form conceptions of the government of the prince and his council which are contradicted by more intimate experience. He was held, it is true, in the so-called freer custody, and during all the time of his imprisonment could not complain of the treatment he received. But the very fact that he was held a prisoner was of ill omen. Secret influences, unknown to him, must have worked against him. A preliminary hearing, or what might otherwise have been a trial, taught him, to his painful surprise, that he had counted in vain upon friendly support whence he had expected it, and that the authorities were animated by a spirit of judicial severity and political intolerance which had well-nigh cost him his life. Under the weight of these gloomy circumstances, and with anxious forebodings for the future, he wrote the Second Epistle to Timothy.

Acts xxviii. 30, 31. — 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17, *πρώτη ἀπολογία*, at which not a single Roman Christian appeared as *advocatus*. The accusation was severe and violent; whether from the mouth of the Alexander mentioned in vs. 14 is uncertain, because of the fragmentary character of the scattered notes hastily committed to writing. A powerful, outspoken defense before a large Gentile audience saved the accused for the time. The noble Epistle to the Romans had failed of its immediate effect, and oral intercourse was but just beginning gradually to produce results. Some few acquaintances in Rome (vs. 21) now form the circle of the Apostle. Quick to forgive (vs. 16), he includes the rest in his love and salutation.

J. E. I. Walch, *Vincula P. romana* (Diss., Vol. III.); C. Wieseler, *Chronol.*, p. 521 ff. — G. L. Oeder, *De loco et tempore scriptæ ep. II. ad Tim.* (in his *Animadv.*, p. 607 ff.)

127. It is beautiful to read how, notwithstanding the overwhelming probability of the nearness of death, which he had already so often looked in the face during the past quarter of a century, and in view of which a certain anxiety, which does not necessarily imply either fear or weakness of faith, may creep over even the noble soul, he thinks first, not of himself, but of his work and of his disciple. To him, far distant, whom

he no longer hoped to see again, he writes his last will, his apostolic testament. He is to carry forward the work begun with fresh vigor; he is to suffer and fight for the gospel like his master, and to stand fast against the world and error. Having been well taught in his youth and having come to maturity early, he will know how to defend the faith, maintain his position, and so far as is in his power will realize the blessing which the Apostle, laying his hands upon him, had once pronounced upon the youth in the family circle. Yet he will not deceive him as to what awaits him. The times will become darker and darker, men more and more opposed to sound doctrine, and a generation devoid of all virtue and truth will call the messengers of Christ to battle. Finally, as it were in a last burst of hope, inspired by his tender love for the son of his heart, he calls him to him yet once more, forgetting, in the expectation of seeing him again, that he has already bidden him farewell forever.

Of all the Pauline Epistles which criticism has attacked, none (save that to Philemon) bears the stamp of genuineness so plainly as this, provided one keeps in mind the circumstances under which it must have been written. To infer from the changing tone (with which compare the Epistles to the Phil., the two to the Cor., and Gal.) that there were originally more epistles than one, which have been combined by a third hand, together with new additions, into one whole, that is to say into a piece of patchwork (Credner, p. 466 ff.), is an unhappy hypothesis, but at the same time a most naive confession that language such as this came from the heart and from the life, not from a post-apostolic forgery.

The personal allusions are more numerous than almost anywhere else, everywhere natural, for the most part new, and therefore not borrowed from any other source, in part quite insignificant (i. 5, 15 ff.; iii. 11, 14; iv. 9 ff.); the tone full at once of the love of a father and the trust of a friend (i. 8, 13 ff.; ii. 2 f., 14 f., 22 f.; iv. 1 f.); the doctrinal statements brief and terse, not as if for one uninstructed or weak, but as by a dying man for his own comfort (i. 9 ff.; ii. 8 ff.); official instructions are the chief subject from beginning to end (i. 6 ff., 13 f.; ii. 1 ff., 14 ff.; iii. 5, 10; iv. 2 ff.), and this without a trace of hierarchical aspirations or of other later phenomena.

For the exegetical literature see §§ 88, 91.

128. The whole Epistle is so completely the natural expression of the actual situation of the author, and contains, unsought and for the most part in the form of mere allusions, such a mass of minute and unessential particulars, that even did the name of the writer not chance to be mentioned at the beginning it would be easy to discover it. If, therefore, this Epistle, together with the other to Timothy and that to Titus, has found similar disfavor at the hands of criticism, the reason therefor must be sought in other portions of their common contents. Several grounds of doubt have actually been urged with emphasis and effect. The first, deduced from the diffi-

culty or impossibility of assigning these three epistles a convenient place in the known life of Paul, has been already considered, and, rejecting the favorite expedient of a liberation and subsequent second imprisonment of the Apostle, the attempt has been made above to arrange anew the chronological order of events in a natural and acceptable manner. A second argument has been found in the alleged striking differences of language. A great number of expressions have been enumerated which are said not to occur elsewhere in the Pauline Epistles, but which do occur, strangely, in precisely these three, which have thereby acquired a peculiar coloring of style. This argument also seems to us to have very insufficient foundation. Though there is some truth in the facts it alleges, it infers too much from them, and the same argument might be applied as well to other portions of this literature. For the most part, however, upon close analysis and examination, it loses the dangerous character which has been found in it.

Literature of criticism : F. Schleiermacher, *Ueber den sog. ersten Brief des P. an den Tim.*, B. 1807; H. Planck, *Bemerkungen über denselben*, Gött. 1808. Cf. Löffler's *Kl. Schriften*, II. 216; *Theol. Annal.*, 1809, p. 812 ff.

Against all three epistles : Eichhorn, *Einkl.*, III. ; De Wette, *Einkl.* ; F. C. Baur, *Die sog. Pastoralbriefe des Ap. P. aufs neue kritisch untersucht*, Tüb. 1835. Also Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, II. 138, and Baur's *Paulus*, p. 492 [E. tr. II. 98]. [Hilgenfeld, *Einkl.*, 1875; Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe krit. u. exeg. behandelt*, L. 1880; S. Davidson, *Introd.*, rev. ed. II. 21 ff.] A. Saintes, *Études critiques sur les lettres pastorales*, P. 1852; Ewald, *Sieben Sendschreiben*, etc., p. 216 ff.; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 464 ff. [E. tr. II. 196]. — For them : Bertholdt, in his *Journal*, VIII., IX., and in his *Einkl.*; H. F. Elsner, *Paulus et Jesajas*, Br. 1821 (in the Appendix); G. Böhl, *Zeit der Abfassung und paulin. Charakter der Briefe an Tim. und Titus*, B. 1829; C. F. Kling, in the Appendix (Pt. V.) to Flatt's *Exeget. Vorlesungen*; *E. Kirchenzeitung*, 1836, p. 641; M. Baumgarten, *Die Echtheit der Pastoralbriefe*, B. 1837; Guericke's *Beiträge*, p. 117 ff.; Böttger's *Beiträge*, IV., V.; idem, in Rudelbach's *Zeitschrift*, 1842, IV.; 1843, I., II.; Dietlein, *Urchristenthum*, p. 153; S. F. Good, *Authenticité des épp. pastorales*, Mont. 1848; Delitzsch, in Rudelbach's *Zeitschr.*, 1851, IV.; T. Rudow, *De argg. hist. quibus authentia . . . impugnata est*, Gött. 1852; A. Dubois, *Étude crit. sur l'authenticité*, etc., Str. 1856; F. G. Ginella, *De authentia epp. past.*, Vrat. 1865; Friedlieb, *Prolegg. zur Hermeneutik*, p. 78 ff.; Wieseler, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, Pt. XXI. [Fairbairn, *Pastoral Epp.*, 1874; Farrar, *St. Paul*, II. 607; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, rev. ed. I. 798; Plumptre, *Art. Timothy, Epp. to*, in Smith's *Dict.*] — Undecided : L. R. Rolle, *De authentia epp. pastoralium*, Arg. 1841; C. E. Scharling, *Die neuesten Unterss. über die sog. Pastoralbriefe*, Jena, 1846. Cf. my review of the last in the *Jena Lit. Zeitung*, 1847, p. 749. Holtzmann, in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, VIII. 486, admits that there are still some valid arguments for the genuineness.

E. Demôle, *Sur l'authenticité de la seconde épître à Timothée*, Gen. 1831; F. Hitzig, *Ueber den zweiten Brief an Tim. (Joh. Marcus, p. 154)*; Oeder, *De loco et tempore scr. sec. ep. ad Tim. (Animadv.)*, p. 607.

Cf. in general the exegetical literature cited in §§ 88, 91. — On the chronological order of the three epistles see §§ 87, 88, 90, 114, 126 f., 134. Also Wieseler, *Chronol.*, p. 303; C. W. Otto, *Die geschichtlichen Verhältnisse der Pastoralbriefe*, L. 1860.

Among the arguments against the genuineness, that deduced from the style was formerly most emphasized, but Baur has rightly placed it in the background. Nothing was ever more unskillfully handled. From the style, or at least in connection with it, Eichhorn has recognized a single pen, not Pauline, Schleiermacher two, the genuine and the spurious, while Credner has made a still more elaborate division. To one critic the forger is a skillful imitator, to another a clumsy compiler, etc. Furthermore, passing over less important points, it is to be remembered, with respect to this criterion, that the objections are founded throughout more upon the mere choice of words than upon style and syntax; but (1.) an indefinitely greater number of peculiar words are found in each one of the three epistles than in all three together compared with the other epistles; therefore if anything at all is to be proved by this argument, we must in consistency infer three authors: cf. the tables in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1843, p. 509 ff. (2.) The number of these peculiar words, arrange them as one will, is very much diminished by the exclusion of those which there did not chance to be an opportunity to use elsewhere; of those, in the second place, to which the other epistles furnish related words, derivatives, etc.; of those, finally, which exhibit a like method of formation, which in a language like the Greek and in writers like the Hellenists is very noteworthy: for example, over against the two words compounded with φίλος and the two with ψεύδος, which are peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles, there are found elsewhere a whole series of similar ones, formed of the same elements. In general, the lists of this kind prepared by the negative criticism are often very unfair. (3.) In case of a language so rich as the Greek and a mind so rich as that of Paul, such counting of words is a precarious pursuit. The two epistles to the Corinthians contain in themselves alone at least as many (if not more) words which do not occur in those to the Romans and Galatians as do the Pastoral Epistles compared with the rest. Are these therefore by different authors? It is true that single expressions appear here which Paul might have used elsewhere also, but does not use (*ἀγιός*, etc., *ἀνθρώπος θεοῦ*, *παλιγγενεσία*, *εὐσεβής*, etc., *δεσπότης*, and some others). The question is, Just how much weight ought this fact to have? Cf. I. F. Beckhaus, *De vocc. ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in prima ep. ad Tim.*, etc., Ling. 1810. [Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe*, p. 84 ff.; Farrar, II. 613.]

Akin to the above is the assertion of a peculiar post-Pauline dogmatics (Schwegler, II. 138 ff.; Köstlin, *Joh. Lehrb.*, 378 ff.). This is said to be at once polemic and irenic (for the former see § 129), the latter to conciliate the Jewish Christians. Whence, for example, *πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη* (1 Cor. xiii. 13; Gal. v. 6; 1 Thess. v. 8, etc.), *ἔργα* favored (Rom. ii. 7; xiii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 10; ix. 8, etc.), an Ebionitic view of the Law, 1 Tim. i. 8 (= Rom. vi. 7, cf. 14; vii. 1 ff., 12; Gal. ii. 19, etc.), *πίστις* not in its specific Pauline sense (on the contrary 2 Tim. iii. 15 and several passages which may be disputed), but simply as ecclesiastical orthodoxy (the expression aside = Christian faith, Rom. i. 5; xiii. 11; Gal. i. 23; 1 Cor. iii. 5, etc.), therefore *πίστις ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ* instead of *πίστις εἰς Ἰ. Χ.*, like Paul (Gal. ii. 16; iii. 26; Rom. iii. 25; Eph. i. 15), *ἐπὶ γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας*, an Ebionitic phrase (yet made up of two good Pauline words). From these examples it may be judged how much that is evidently unpauline in the realm of dogmatics has been found in these Epistles.

Here belongs also the argument upon which much stress has been laid, that the three Epistles have a stamp so peculiar that they not only belong together in time, but are inconceivable between Galatians and Corinthians. The first point refutes itself to all who are not willfully blind to the notable difference of tone and language in 2 Tim.; the second, in view of the intense individuality of every one of the epistles of Paul, is only a difficulty, when, leaving out of account all psychological facts, and in accordance with a preconceived scheme, the writings of Paul are thought of as unaffected by

the thousand influences of the moment, and when it is forgotten that in reality we know far too little of these determinative influences themselves. Because Paul a year ago wrote against Galatian Judaists, and two years later is to meet them again elsewhere, is it therefore impossible that he should be contending to-day with other opponents? "To attempt to figure out every step" of the Apostle is no doubt a hazardous piece of business, but to determine what he can, or rather cannot, have thought in every year of his life — ?

The Second Epistle to Timothy, moreover, is said to bear in itself special marks of spuriousness: ii. 8 it cites the Gospel of Luke (a long-exploded patristic vagary); iii. 15 ff. it declares the whole Scriptures to be inspired (only the O. T., as Paul everywhere); i. 5 it speaks of the aged grandmother of Timothy (what is there out of the way in this, in the case of a young man of 26?); ii. 3, 4, a simile from military service, in the style of the second century (which learned it from Paul himself, see 1 Cor. ix. 7; 2 Cor. x. 3, 4); iv. 11 Luke and Mark, the Paulinist and the Petrinist, are found together, reconciled and reconciling, with the Apostle (of this particular purpose there is just as little here as in Philem. 24); iii. 8 apocryphal traditions inconceivable with Paul (cf. 1 Cor. x. 4); iii. 11 an extract from the Acts (rather selected because it occurred in the native land of Timothy); finally, iv. 21, it contains salutations from Linus, the subsequent Pauline bishop of Rome. (But granting the episcopate of this man to be a fiction, is the person necessarily so also? And if the name represents a partisan purpose, why is it lacking in Rom. xvi., in the catalogue of the Paulinists, likewise forged, according to Baur?)

129. It would be of much more weight, and altogether decisive, if it could actually be proved that the three Epistles were written in view of certain religious phenomena and needs of the Church of a much later time. Some would find in the description of the false doctrines against which warning is given in these Epistles, not merely the general outlines of the Gnosticism which spread in the second century, but yet more definitely the picture of a particular Gnostic system, known to some extent from other sources. So long as criticism disputed only the three Pastoral Epistles, it was sufficient to show in their defense that the same features, the same characterizations of opponents, and the same polemics were to be found in other Pauline epistles as well. But since this similarity has been made, consistently, a ground of suspicion against these others also, and like condemnation has been passed upon them, this mode of defense is no longer sufficient. It may, however, as it seems to us, be satisfactorily replaced: on the one hand, by the well-established conviction that the statements of all these epistles by no means necessarily lead to the conclusion that the author had in mind a definite, finished Gnostic system of the second century, least of all that of Marcion; on the other, by proof that the tendencies opposed, neither in their Judaistic nor in their theosophic elements, contain anything foreign to the apostolic age.

Baur and his followers have rightly declared that in order to prove the

spuriousness of the Pastoral Epistles the positive purpose of the forgery must be shown. This purpose they consider to be, chiefly, the solemn renunciation by the Pauline party of the Gnosis (of Marcion) as a system which forced their own principles to false conclusions, to which is opposed an ecclesiastical orthodoxy (already irenic and catholicizing); in general, to combat the Gnostic heresies which were prevalent after 150.

This historical basis seems to me to be throughout ill-founded:—

(1.) No clear picture of definite, known opponents of this character is to be found in these Epistles; and Baur is compelled to borrow from history, both Judaistic and Antinomian, morally blameless and highly immoral sects of Gnostics in order to explain the different features of the description. But the farther down we come in time the more inconceivable would be so unsatisfactory and confused a delineation. That which is opposed does not appear as a complete, finished system; it is presumptuous error in general, as, in its manifold and contradictory manifestations, it is everywhere opposed to the truth, which is one. It dignifies itself with the name of *γνώσις*, 1 Tim. vi. 20, which, however, is denied it, as Paul himself gives greater and greater value to the true Gnosis (Rom. xi. 33, xv. 14; 1 Cor. i. 5; viii. 1 ff.; 2 Cor. xi. 6, etc.), by the side of which the false only too easily creeps in (1 Cor. viii. 1). The latter may be known by its source (1 Tim. iv. 2), its purpose (vi. 5; Tit. i. 11), and its subject (1 Tim. i. 4, 6; 2 Tim. ii. 14, 16, 23). It appears as something diseased, as a gangrene, 2 Tim. ii. 17; true knowledge, which is manifested in Christian works, is described as the state of health. The figure is new, but not very far removed from the well-known Pauline similes of growth, weakness, restoration of the members, and others borrowed from the body. *Ἐπεροδιδασκαλεῖν*, 1 Tim. i. 3, is indeed a new word, but cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 21, 2 Cor. vi. 14, and for the thing itself 2 Cor. xi. 4, Gal. i. 6 ff., 1 Cor. xvi. 22, where the polemic is even sharper. *Αἰρετικός*, Tit. iii. 10, in accordance both with 1 Cor. xi. 19 and Gal. v. 20, and with the connection as well (*ἔρεσις, μάχαι*), is not a heretic, but an empty-headed and disputatious prater; “a contemporary of Tertullian” would not have contented himself with a mere useless mention of the heresy of Marcion, and dismissed it with a *νοθεσία*. Or does *παραιτεῖσθαι* mean to excommunicate? (1 Tim. v. 11 and the concordance.)

(2.) The subject is not only not a definite heresy opposed to an ecclesiastical orthodoxy, but often no proper doctrine at all. It is the moral corruption that is made prominent, to a noteworthy degree, cf. 1 Tim. i. 19; iv. 1 ff.; vi. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 16; iii. 1 ff., 13; Tit. i. 12 ff.; accordingly, also, much more stress is laid upon the practical element of the gospel than upon the purely dogmatic part, and the bishops of the churches are characterized and judged essentially upon this basis. Now were Marcion and his followers, historically, so utterly wicked people? Or would the controversialists of the second century have been content to oppose to the Gnostics bishops of blameless character who, so far as theological knowledge was concerned, might not be above the general standard of the common people?

(3.) Again, the subject is not always theology or philosophy. What is attested by the classic writers and everywhere in the N. T., especially of Ephesus (Acts xix.), in reference to the witchcraft, magic, jugglery and occult science of all sorts then in vogue, is found here also; the *γόητες*, 2 Tim. iii. 13, are not Marcionites at all, any more than are Jannes and Jambres, vs. 8; vs. 6 gives us a deeper view of the abyss of ruin which yawns before men in consequence of the unsettling of religious conviction and the spread of superstition. Even the ascetic life might consist in part of fanciful initiatory rites, which led finally to debauchery and robbery. Until it is proved that all charlatans, exorcists, astrologers, magi, and all others of the tribe, by whatsoever name they may go, Simon included, shot forth out of the earth all at once, like mushrooms, and not until after the year 150, this department of polemics is intelligible fully a hundred years earlier.

(4.) This polemic is directed at the same time against Judaism, Tit. i. 10, 14; iii. 9; 1 Tim. i. 7 ff. etc. (cf. § 123.). The last passage by no means has in view opponents who rejected the Law, and *καλὸς ὁ νόμος* is not a reply, but a concession (Rom. vii. 12, 14), and over against it stands the supreme principle *δικαίῳ οὐ κείται*, vs. 9, cf. 2 Tim. i. 9; Tit. iii. 5. But, it is said, the tone of this polemic is not the same as that to the Galatians. True; neither is the latter the same as that to the Romans; and in 2 Cor. x. ff., it is still different. It might be supposed that when Paul was talking privately with Timothy and Titus such things would be arranged somewhat less systematically, yet also somewhat more forcibly and more *ἀποτόμως* than in the pulpit. In 1 Tim. i. 4, 6, 2 Tim. ii. 14, 23, Tit. i. 10 f., iii. 9 there is expressed rather disdain and disgust than dogmatic zeal. Naturally; with these correspondents there was no need of any display of theological eloquence. But how if these correspondents are imaginary, and the opponents in the case are a sect by no means lacking in intelligence, still increasing, and in other respects also perhaps not to be despised? And are strict and positive Antinomians [like the Gnostics] properly called *νομοδιδασκαλοι* (1 Tim. i. 7), and that as a designation of their essential characteristic, and is it a sufficient criticism upon them that they know not what they say, and dispute about words?

(5.) To cover the forgery, it is said, the Epistles make Paul predict the Gnostics as future, 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 1; iv. 3, cf. Acts xx. 30. But the "last times" and the evil they were to bring did not appear on the horizon for the first time in the year 160. All the Apostles, Jesus himself, know of them, and even the synagogue before them. The testimony of the Apocalypse, alone indisputable, may suffice for all. The heretics there mentioned, chs. ii., iii., dwell in the same region, and are in no respect unlike those of our Epistles. And one who is thinking of his departure in the midst of the battle necessarily sees the future yet more gloomy than the present. But if it is asserted that 1 Tim. vi. 20 is copied from Hegesippus (Euseb. iii. 32), and that he expressly testifies that in the time of Paul there were as yet no heresies, we reply that in the passage cited it is not Hegesippus but Eusebius that is speaking, and that he evidently borrows his expressions (a whole series of them) from 1 Tim., simply looking at antiquity in the light of later prejudices.

(6.) Finally, actual traces of Gnostic ideas are only isolated and entirely disconnected: (a) *μῦθοι, γενεαλογίαι*, 1 Tim. i. 4, iv. 7, Tit. i. 14, iii. 9, might, it is true, be brought into connection with what is said in (3), but there may possibly be theosophic speculations hidden under these terms. Only there are certainly no systems of æons (which, as being opposed to monotheism just as much as to the gospel Christology, would not have been dismissed with simply a disdainful *γραῶδεις*), but these speculations still appear to be based upon Jewish angelology (Col. ii. 18), which, in a century which produced the book of Enoch and the Apocalypse, must certainly have entered more than one field of thought. Moreover, this mythology is undeniably connected with asceticism, therefore again also with Judaism. (b) The rejection of marriage, 1 Tim. iv. 3 and, (c), of the resurrection of the body, 2 Tim. ii. 18, may very well have had their foundation in a dualistic rejection of matter. But dualistic notions are much older than Marcion and his contemporaries. There is certainly also Docetism, which sprang from the same root.—False traces are, for example: 1 Tim. ii. 14; cf. 2 Cor. xi. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 8; cf. Rom. i. 3, etc.

But how many different kinds of men (2 Tim. ii. 20) may there not have been in an ancient church, to which proselytes were led not only by religious need and conviction, but also by fanaticism, curiosity, even by self-interest or prejudice, especially since scarcely any conditions were attached to baptism? No wonder that when, as here, where Paul is writing to an intimate

friend, we are able to get a deeper view of things, the figures appear in so motley a mixture, and in many respects so utterly different from what a pious fancy would paint them.

Cf. also H. Böttger, *Die Gnosis der Pastoralbriefe* (*Beiträge*, Vol. V.) ; J. F. Buddeus, *Γνωσις ψευδώνυμος* (*Synt.*, p. 653) ; C. A. Huth, *Falsa gnosticorum scientia*, L. 1723 ; J. H. Mai, *Exercit.*, I. 293 ; Reiners, in the *Bibl. Brem.*, I. 986 ; J. M. Lang, *De genealogiis nunquam finiendis*, Nor. 1696 ; B. G. Clauswitz, *De illis qui ævo ap. resurr. negarunt*, H. 1744 ; G. E. Leo, *Ad 1 Tim. iv. 1 sqq.*, W. 1839 ; W. Mangold, *Die Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe*, Mb. 1856 ; E. Belin, *Sur les tendances hérétiques combattues dans les épp. pastorales*, Str. 1865. [Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, p. 659.]

130. Like judgment, we believe, should as yet be passed upon the assertion that the internal arrangements of the churches, as they are reflected in the Epistles or prescribed in them, remind us not so much of the simplicity of early times as of the more elaborate organization and the progress of a later generation. It cannot be denied that immorality very early succeeded in this sphere, by means of forged documents, in gaining acceptance for new forms. But it may well be doubted whether in these Epistles church government really appears so mature and highly developed, enriched to such an extent with ordinances and institutions of which the Apostle could not have thought in his time, that conclusions adverse to their genuineness must be drawn therefrom. The arguments of criticism everywhere lose a large part of their strength upon closer examination, and the accordance with Pauline style still counterbalances all objections,—all the more since the purpose of the forgery is not clear, or rather since a different one is supposed for each separate epistle, — thus weakening still more the view which rejects them all together.

It must be admitted that to the reader who yields himself to the natural impression this last argument has very great weight against the genuineness. Nevertheless, it is not so absolutely unanswerable as it seems. On the chronology here adopted, and which must be adopted on the assumption of the genuineness, its weight is rather increased than diminished. The question is, whether, four years at the most after the first preaching, the church can have been organized as it appears in 1 Timothy.

The beginnings of the church of Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19) fall in the year 54. The immediately following narrative certainly does not allow us to infer the existence of a separate Christian society ; xix. 9 plainly states the opposite. Its formation falls at the earliest in the latter part of 56, and the Epistle was written at the latest in 58. In the mean time the progress must have been rapid. The scene narrated, xix. 23 ff., is so natural that it surely must be founded on immediate historical recollection. But it has for its subject an extraordinary decline of heathenism, and the statement of xix. 10 is confirmed by the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Colossians.

Criticism has made out its case very easily by at once casting suspicion upon all epistles from which could be obtained any knowledge of the organization of apostolic churches. Romans and Galatians have nothing to do with the matter ; the Apocalypse represents the churches as ruled by angels. Nevertheless, there are certainly indubitable parallels. There are deacons at

Corinth : 1 Cor. xvi. 15 (Rom. xvi. 1), cf. Phil. i. 1. An organized church government is presupposed in 1 Cor. xii. 28, *κυβερνήσεις*, cf. Rom. xii. 7, 8, aside from all that is said upon the subject in the Acts. Organized charity is to be assumed from the collections often spoken of ; it is a natural outgrowth of the Christian spirit, and moreover doubtless an inheritance from former times. The *agapæ* are a historical fact (1 Cor. xi.), but they also imply a personal management. The synagogue already had presbyters ; we find them, under different names (a noteworthy fact, because it shows that no importance was attached to the name) in Phil. i. 1 ; 1 Thess. v. 12 ; Eph. iv. 11 ; Acts xx. 17, 28. That the office was an object of ambition (1 Tim. iii. 1) follows from human nature ; that the bishop was always but one, and therefore a post-apostolic hierarchy, is directly contradicted by Tit. i. 5, 7. That he was not to be a novice (1 Tim. iii. 6), and that no one was to become a deacon without having been proved (vs. 10), seems very natural, considering that every one who desired was admitted to baptism without delay. An Apostle who had occasion to tell his converts that drunkenness, gluttony, fornication, and theft were unchristian would have managed very indiscreetly if he had committed the church without further thought to the Holy Spirit. The laying on of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14 ; v. 22) is an O. T., natural gesture of blessing. Why should it not be used for a special office ? Why not by the older members of the church in the case of a young man who devotes himself to a noble calling, and who, becoming inspired in that solemn moment, gives testimony of that which moves him ? 2 Tim. i. 6 is the psychologically more clear, and therefore certainly not unguenuine, form of what is misapprehended at Acts viii. 17, xix. 6, because the author did not participate in it. The *ὁμολογία* (1 Tim. vi. 12) is shown by the context (vs. 13) not to be an ecclesiastically sanctioned, formal confession of faith. But all these admonitions taken together are in place if we have here a prematurely old teacher, now numbering about fifty years, who has grown weary in the apostolic office, and ripened by experience (2 Cor. xii. 7 ff. ; Gal. iv. 13), taking leave of his pupil, who was about half his age, and who had already, in tender youth, taken upon himself, full of confidence, the heavy burdens of office. In this way also 1 Tim. iv. 12, 2 Tim. ii. 1 f., 22, can be naturally explained.

That women desired to speak in public (1 Tim. ii. 11) we know as regards Corinth from 1 Cor. xiv. 34 ; xi. 5. The requirement of a single marriage, 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 6 (not as a positive command, but simply excluding a second), for the bishops is in reality only a more extreme case, quite in the spirit of 1 Cor. vii., and is less strict than Rev. xiv. 4. With respect to women (1 Tim. ii. 15 ; v. 3 ff., 11 ff. ; cf. iii. 11 ; 2 Tim. iii. 6 ; Tit. ii. 3 f.) it should be said first of all that Paul does not here consider them from an ideal point of view, as perhaps in 1 Cor. vii. 34, but from a thoroughly practical one, and that on this sober, practical view, marriage, the burdens of maternity, and household cares appeared the most effective means of training, and often the only preventive of pious idleness and indiscreet gossip, 1 Tim. v. 13. Is this so far removed from the subjection elsewhere commended ? We see the man of affairs in other matters also tune the strings to a lower pitch without therefore forgetting the higher tones. And a forger in the second century would certainly have commended celibacy as a means of salvation rather than child-bearing. That a catalogue of widows to be supported had been or was to be prepared is certainly evident from 1 Tim. v. 9. But when alms are distributed there is never any lack of suitors, and the church was doubtless early obliged to seek measures of protection against the throng from without. The picture of the Ephesian church given in this Epistle is certainly not favorable, but how is it with the Corinthian ?

In the middle of the second century, moreover, the subject would no

longer be simply the moral qualities of the bishops, but their authority as well ; in 1 Tim. iv. 13 we should have expected a fully elaborated cultus ; in ii. 2, 7, iv. 10, vi. 1, reference to the charges against the Christians current later ; and in 2 Tim iii. 11 there can be nothing of the bloody official persecutions of the Christians read between the lines.

Finally, it should not be understood from the last sections that in our view all doubts regarding the genuineness have now been dismissed as unfounded. We simply wish to be understood as saying that the matter is not yet settled, that we can for ourselves regard as fixed only so much as this, that the hypothesis of a second imprisonment is nothing more than a makeshift, and that we absolutely cannot regard the Second Epistle to Timothy as a forgery. [In his commentary, *Les Épitres Pauliniennes*, 1878, II. 243, 307, Reuss rejects 1 Tim. and Titus, though still accepting 2 Tim.]

131. The last earthly wish of the Apostle, to see his beloved Timothy once more and to be strengthened by his presence in the hour of death, was realized. His friend came, and remained for a time at Rome. Other visits also cheered his anxious heart. Among others came Epaphroditus, probably not the Colossian, and brought a new gift of love into the dreary solitude of the Apostle from the church at Philippi, which, moved by filial love toward him, had once before cared for his necessities. His gratitude, most hearty, as the pure source whence the gift sprang and the gloomy prospects of the receiver demanded, Paul expresses in the Epistle to the Philippians. It was brought to the place of its destination by the same messenger, after his recovery from an illness in Rome. But he brought also with it and in it, by the side of a faint and wavering hope of release, a foreboding, already deeply rooted, that the end was near, and a familiarity, strengthened into Christian submission, with the thought of the rest to follow.

The historical data for introduction are found in ii. 25 ff. ; iv. 10, 14 ff., 18.

It is not correct to say that the key-note of this Epistle, quite in contrast with 2 Tim., is joyful, and *χαλεπὴ* the refrain throughout. In i. 18 Paul rejoices over the progress of the gospel, in spite of all his personal affliction (vs. 17) ; vs. 19 certainly expresses a hope, but it immediately gives place to uncertainty, and the thought of death grows stronger. With equal rapidity do hope and uncertainty alternate in vss. 25, 30. Again, in ii. 2 (iv. 1) it is only the love and friendship of the Philippians that awakens his joy, and in vs. 16 ff. the gloomy outlook is contending with the joy of Christian victory. The uncertainty of the result is again expressed in ii. 23 ; the dreary situation of the present moment in vs. 27 f.

Literature : A. F. Büsching, *Introd. in ep. ad Phil.*, Hal. 1746 ; J. P. Mynster, *Einl. in den Brief an die Phil. (Opp., 169 ff.)* ; H. C. M. Rettig, *Questiones philippenses*, Giss. 1831 ; J. Hoog, *De coetus phil. conditione primæva*, Leyd. 1825 ; W. H. Schinz, *Die christl. Gemeinde zu Philippi*, Z. 1833.

G. L. Oeder, *De tempore et loco scr. ep. ad Phil. (Conj., p. 323)* ; Paulus, *De tempore scr. prioris ad Tim. et ad Phil. epp.*, Jena, 1799.

Commentaries : G. C. Storr, 1783 ; J. G. am Ende, 1798 ; F. H. Rheinwald, 1827 ; T. Passavant, 1834 ; C. S. Matthies, 1835 ; W. A. Van Hengel,

1838; H. G. Hölemann, 1839; A. Rilliet (French), 1841; H. A. W. Meyer, 1847; A. Wiesinger, 1850 [in Olshausen's *Comm.*; E. tr. N. Y. 1858]; B. Weiss, 1859. [Baumgarten-Crusius, *Phil., Thess.*, Jena, 1848; Neander, B. 1849, E. tr. N. Y. 1851; C. R. Kähler, Kiel, 1855; G. F. Jatho, Hildesh. 1857; Braune, in Lange, E. tr. by H. B. Hackett, N. Y. 1870; Hofmann, IV. 3; Ellicott, *Phil., Col., Philem.*, Lond. 1857, Andover, 1865; Eadie, Edinb. and N. Y. 1859; Lightfoot, Lond. 1868, 3d ed. 1873.]

132. Moreover, this Epistle gives especial light on the state of things at Rome in the church itself. We learn that on the one hand the activity of the Apostle had not been prevented by his bonds, and that many brethren in the faith had been strengthened by his example. But on the other hand, as was to be expected from previous indications, he encountered personal aversion and even theological opposition. This opposition, designated by himself as the well-known Judaistic, drew from him at first only sighs, and he knew how to find solace for hatred and jealousy in the progress of the gospel. But finally it seems to have gone beyond his patience, and he again finds his full energy to set this Judaizing tendency in its true light, as he had once been accustomed to do.

That the activity of the Apostle was not entirely prevented, in spite of his detention at Rome, is also stated in Acts xxviii. 30 f., cf. Phil. i. 12 ff. — Vs. 13 only says, however, that in the prætorium, therefore chiefly, doubtless, among the military so far as they concerned themselves about the prisoners, and among the rest of the people so far as they came in contact with the military, it became known that Paul was not a criminal, but was in bonds on account of his Christian faith. That individuals within this circle were won by him is highly probable, but if so allusion is made to the fact not in this passage, but in *προκοπή*, vs. 12. Among those thus converted were some members of the imperial household, iv. 22. The house, *οἰκία*, does not, however, mean blood relatives, as fabled in ancient story and modern criticism, but people belonging to the court service, possibly of quite subordinate rank. Who could blame the Apostle for this little human exultation in making special mention of them?

Paul now stood in closer relation with the Christians of Rome than formerly (2 Tim.), Phil. i. 14, iv. 22; but on this very account the parties had also become more sharply separated. The example of the Apostle, undaunted in his fetters, had encouraged many and attached them to him; but Judaistic antipathy manifested itself also, i. 15, 16, especially iii. 2 ff. No circle of close, intimate friends had been formed about Paul. He had finally been left alone in Rome with his foreign friends, ii. 20 f., and in particular had not been able to find any one who was willing to forego his private interests to go upon missionary duty in order to keep up communication with Greece. In any case, the divisions and oppositions to which allusion is made in the Epistle are not to be sought at Philippi, as was often done formerly.

133. It would certainly be unsound judgment to take exception to this changing tone of the Epistle, and in consequence to attempt to separate it into two parts having no connection the one with the other. This change is appropriate to the whole mood of the Epistle, and is to be explained from the un-

certainly of the position of the Apostle. From one day to another, nay even from hour to hour, his horizon might take on different colors; now surrounded by dark clouds, now lighted up by a ray of hope. There breathes through the whole the same spirit of fond tenderness, the same longing to impart, the same feeling of the apostolic obligation to preach Christ, so that it has only been possible to regard it as lacking in coherence when the key-note itself found no answering chord in the heart of the reader. But especially does criticism fail of its end when it bases upon a single dogmatic digression, which it cannot understand or which is not agreeable, a verdict of rejection against the whole Epistle.

Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* iii., speaks of ἐπιστολαί of Paul to the Philippians; this use of the plural is justified by examples like 1 Cor. xvi. 3. If the plural is to be pressed a second epistle must have been lost; Bleek (*Einl.*, 431) infers an earlier one from iii. 1. Others have assumed a division at this passage, on account of the certainly exceedingly harsh transition, or rather lack of all connection: Heinrichs, *Prolegg. in Phil.*, p. 32; J. F. Krause, *An ep. ad Phil. in duas easque diversis scriptas* (to the church and to the elders) *dispenda sit?* Reg. 1811, and in the *Königsb. Archiv*, I. 109. Weisse, *Philos. Dogm.*, I. 144 f., makes the division at iii. 3, assuming that the beginning of the second epistle is wanting. But even were the matter psychologically altogether inexplicable, the most natural supposition would be rather a gap in the text.

The genuineness of the whole epistle has been called in question by Baur, *Paulus*, 458 [E. tr. II. 45]; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 233; E. Hinsch, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1873, I. Cf. on the other side G. C. A. Lünemann, *P. ad Phil. ep. contra Baurium defend.*, Gött. 1847; B. B. Brückner, *Ep. ad Phil. Paulo auctori vindicata*, L. 1848; T. Resch, *De l'authenticité de l'ép. aux Phil.*, Str. 1850; Hilgenfeld, *Der Brief an die Philipper nach Inhalt und Ursprung*, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1871, III.

Some of the grounds of doubt have already been removed in §§ 131 f.; those derived from the mention of bishops and deacons (i. 1) in § 130. Beside these, two in particular are especially emphasized: (a.) In iv. 3 occurs the name of Clement of Rome, so famous in the legendary and party history of Christianity; he is found again in vs. 22 as a relative of the emperor; and through him, in the first place, there is discovered in the Epistle a unionistic aim, for he is here drawn over to the party of Paul, whereas he formerly belonged to that of Peter; again, there is discovered in the names, iv. 2, instead of women, the contending parties (in mystic signification?), and finally in the enigmatical σύνυγος the Apostle Peter himself, and consequently the union [of the Pauline and Petrine parties]. To all of which it is simply to be replied that the Clement mentioned is not Clement of Rome, otherwise his name would not be found until vs. 22, but an entirely unknown Philippian, who is here mentioned, in passing, with honor, and who, in connection with the unknown colleague of the Apostle, that is to say, the bishop of the church into whose hands the Epistle first came (C. A. Heumann, *De conjuge paulino*, Jena, 1738; Laurent, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1865, I.; 1866, III. [see Meyer, *in loc.*, for a different explanation]), is charged to bring about peace between two otherwise worthy deaconesses, who certainly never dreamed that they would be transformed into critical vagaries, and arguments be based thereon against the genuineness of the Epistle. (b.) In the passage ii. 5 ff. are discovered

clear traces of Gnostic views and phraseology. But the idea of Docetism lies neither in *μορφή*, since this word is used also of the divine substance, nor in *ὁμοίωμα* (Rom. viii. 3, cf. i. 23), nor in *σχῆμα* (1 Cor. vii. 31), nor in *εὐρεθῆναι* (1 Cor. iv. 2; 2 Cor. v. 3; Gal. ii. 17, etc.): the first indicates similarity of form, the second perhaps even materiality, and the last, at all events, objective reality. The doctrine of the lordship of Christ over heaven and earth and the under world occurs also in Rom. viii. 34; xiv. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 24 ff. The idea of the *κένωσις* everywhere underlies the Apostle's conception of the sufferings and obedience of the Son of God (2 Cor. xiii. 4; Gal. iv. 4; Rom. viii. 32), although the word is not found elsewhere; and the much-debated *ἀπαγκύβν ἡγήσατο* can, after all, have no other meaning in its connection than the natural one. Although he possessed a divine essence, yet he would not retain this equality with God by force. What is expressed in the passage is not the striving to gain possession of something but just desired, but an attempt to retain what was already in possession, and *ἀπράξειν* is used because the decree of God required the *κένωσις*, and therefore a refusal to undergo it, being an act of disobedience, must have expressed itself in the forcible retention of something which for the time ought to be given up. To express this thought no one would need to have read the history of an æon, which unfittingly longed for the *πλήρωμα*, and in consequence fell into the *κένωμα*. Modern monographs: J. A. Ernesti, 1777; Niemeyer, 1793; F. F. Gräfenhain, 1802; Keil, 1803; Tholuck, 1847; Stein, in the *Studien*, 1837, I.; H. F. Ernesti, *ibidem*, 1848, IV.; 1851, III.; C. N. Kähler, *ibidem*, 1857, I.; W. Grimm, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1873, I.; F. C. Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1849, IV.; 1852, I. [also in *Paulus*, 2d ed. II. 51 ff., E. tr. II. 45 ff.], and many others. [See also Philippi, *Die thätige Gehorsamkeit Christi*, B. 1841, p. 1 ff.; Liebner, *Christol.*, p. 325; Rübiger, *Christol. Paul.*, p. 76; Lechler, *Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 58; Schneckenburger, in the *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1855, p. 333; R. Schmidt, *Paul. Christol.*, 1870, p. 163; Pfeiderer, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1871, p. 519; Lightfoot, Excursus in his *Comm.*]

It is observed also that iii. 2 is unrefined, in the first place *κύνες* (but the devils, 2 Cor. xi. 13 ff.?), also *κατατομή* (but *ἀποκόψονται*, Gal. v. 12?); on the other hand, iii. 4 ff. is an imitation of 2 Cor. xi. 18 ff. (the first thought is the same, but not two words are repeated, and the train of thought in the two passages is quite independent and leads in different directions; in the former from irony to an extended historical retrospect, here only a touch of the latter interposed between dogmatic statement and the expression of religious hope). The expression *ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, iv. 15, brings the epistle down to a later time (the eleven years that had actually passed are abundantly sufficient to explain this). The frequent gifts of the Philippians (iv. 15) are inconceivable in accordance with 1 Cor. ix. 15, and are fabricated from 2 Cor. xi. 9 (then the two latter passages contradict each other, and one of the epistles to the Corinthians may also be spurious; as if 2 Cor. xi. 8 did not of itself solve the riddle; and 2 Thess. iii. 8? Wherever Paul was, he lived by the labor of his own hands; free-will offerings, as an acknowledgment of spiritual services,—a running account, *δόσις καὶ λήψις*,—he received, but only from away, and these came seldom enough). In i. 23 f. is an allusion to the already current tradition of the Apostle's release from imprisonment at Rome; Paul must therefore have been pardoned (!). It is not certainly known where the adversaries against whom accusation is made in iii. 18 dwelt (everywhere: those at Rome remind of the others); and the poverty of thought is so great that the author confesses it, iii. 1. But if he knows nothing, why does he write at all? Paul could return thanks for a gift, send longing salutations, hope, pray, wish, pour out his heart, seek *ισοψύχους* (ii. 20) far away, and thus find abundance of material for an epistle; but a forger must certainly have some design, think something, and

say something, be it never so little. Otherwise it becomes another instance (like Thessalonians) of an "unmeaning" practice of style, which is, nevertheless, full of meaning for philologists, since they learn from it that a man in the middle of the second century, when the Greek style of all Christian authors had already acquired a wholly different coloring, could yet accurately imitate the Apostle Paul if he wished, and that without a single line to copy from.

134. Thus there is connected with the name of Philippi the remembrance both of the first apostolic preaching on the soil of Europe and of the last trace of the life of the preacher to whom our part of the world owes its first instruction in the gospel. How long Paul survived the writing of this last epistle of which we have any knowledge, is uncertain. Respecting the circumstances under which he finished his course authentic history is silent, and it cannot be determined from untrustworthy traditions. Only so much as this appears to us beyond doubt, that he was never released from his imprisonment at Rome; probably, therefore, since the progress of time here brings us near the terrible persecution of the Christians under Nero, he, with innumerable others, but the most precious offering of all, perished in that frenzied and horrible massacre. All that ecclesiastical tradition and exegetical conjecture, partly from dogmatic prejudice, partly from critical perplexity, have brought forward respecting a release, new journeys to the East and West, and a second imprisonment, together with all which is connected therewith, we remand in full conviction to the domain of fable.

The hypothesis of a release of the Apostle from his imprisonment at Rome, of new journeys to Greece, and especially of a journey to Spain, and finally of a second imprisonment and execution shortly before the death of Nero, at the same time with Peter, was favored in the seventeenth century (by Cappel, Witse, Cave, later by Pearson and Paley), on the ground of patristic testimony; in our own time by many in order to save the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. When this genuineness is not acknowledged the second imprisonment falls away of itself. Our chronology has attempted to show that the assumption of such a hypothesis is not necessary in order to maintain the genuineness. But even aside from this critical question it rests upon no solid ground.

Only dogmatic prepossession could infer from Rom. xv. 24 an actual journey to Spain; the close of the Acts decides nothing. On the famous (alleged) testimony of Clement of Rome, see § 135. Later, however, the tradition becomes legendary. Dionysius of Corinth (c. 170 A. D., Euseb. ii. 25) makes the Apostles Peter and Paul to have founded the church of Corinth in conjunction, and then to have gone to Rome and died as martyrs. The first part of this testimony determines the value of the second. How little is to be made out of that of the Muratorian Canon, see § 310, although there also the legend of the journey to Spain is related.

The legend of a second imprisonment first appears in Eusebius ii. 22, upon no authority, and supported by arguments which only the crudest exegesis could evolve from 2 Tim. iv. 16 ff.; the author definitely asserts, moreover, that the Apostles perished in the great persecution of Nero, while placing

the first imprisonment much earlier. If, therefore, this testimony is really to stand, its positive chronological statement should not be ignored in favor of mere conjecture.

The later statements, partly contradictory, partly unfavorable to the hypothesis, and partly of very doubtful value, are examined in my essay : *La seconde captivité de S. Paul*, in the *Strass. Revue de Théol.*, II. 150 ff. Cf. A. O. Kunze, *Præcipua patrum eccles. testimonia quæ ad P. ap. spectant*, Gött. 1848 ; P. E. Jablonski, *De ultimis P. ap. laboribus* (*Opp.*, III. 289) ; J. P. Mynster, *De ultimis annis muneris ap. a P. gesti* (*Opp.*, p. 189) ; *Die letzten Schicksale der App. Paulus und Petrus* (*Quartalschrift*, 1830, IV.). Also, G. F. Gude, *Eccl. ephes.*, p. 209 ; J. E. C. Schmidt, in the *Allgem. Bibl.*, VII. 357 ; H. Böttger, *Beiträge*, Pt. II. ; Schenkel, in the *Studien*, 1841, I. ; Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1849, IV., and *Paulus*, 212 ff. [E. tr. I. 216] ; J. T. L. Danz, *De loco Eusebii cett.*, Jena, 1816 ; E. T. R. Wolf, *De altera P. captivitate*, L. 1819. At great length in favor of the hypothesis, Huther, in his Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, 3d ed. 1866. — J. J. Spier, *De P. itinere in Hispaniam*, Vit. 1740-1 ; J. C. Harenberg, *De eodem* (*Otia*, p. 161) ; G. F. Weber, *De verosimili P. in Hispania martyrio*, Arg. 1787. [Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, p. 328 ; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 331.]

135. Moreover legend has no need to deck with its tinsel the name of Paul of Tarsus, as it has done with so many other apostolic names. Surely he shines brightly with his own light in the eastern sky of the Church, a preacher of righteousness in both East and West as far as his rays penetrated, until, like the sun, after a nobly completed day's work, he went down in the far distant west. Yet it is an error when the actual gain to the Church from this rich life is represented by the later view of history as unmixed, immediate, and generally recognized by the Apostle's contemporaries, as it may perhaps appear to us at the present day. On the contrary, like everything truly great upon earth, his thought was in advance of the age, and in consequence, either hated or misunderstood, and comprehended only in its outer expression, not in its inner meaning, was now a hieroglyph, now an apple of discord for the wise and prudent of the world.

Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.*, ch. v. ; Κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπῆλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

If criticism ever comes to have any taste, it will probably no longer occur to it to read in this passage (the rhetorical amplification of the point of view hinted at in the section, or more correctly of the passage Acts xiii. 47) the history of a journey to Spain, which certainly lies some degrees farther to the west, and consequently that of a second imprisonment, and finally even the names of two favorites of Nero, who are said to have condemned the Apostle to death. Cf. the literature cited under the foregoing section. *Μαρτυρεῖν* means to bear witness, not to die, otherwise Paul must have died in Spain, also ; the *ἡγούμενοι* sit before Paul, and listen to his *μαρτυρία*, 2 Tim. iv. 17, cf. 1 Tim. vi. 13 ; and the *τέρμα τῆς δύσεως* of this star is just as certainly not to be sought upon any map of the *orbis veteribus cognitus*, but in figure itself, as *ὅλος κόσμος* is a mere phrase, representing no historical fact.

The gospel of Paul did not prevail in its purity and completeness because it had to do with a Church which must be ruled for a time, at the first, by the letter of the Law (1 Cor. iv. 21 ; vii. 19), upon which often the first principles of morality were not yet thoroughly impressed, and to which higher views were but a temptation to abuse.

That the Church was by no means purely Pauline after the death of the Apostle, indeed even less so than during his lifetime, has been proved incontestably by the school of Baur from the history of the second century and from the later apostolic literature. Cf. especially : A. Schwegler, *Das nach-apost. Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung*, Tüb. 1846 ; A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1850 (in the 2d ed. 1857 the author arrives at different conclusions in some particulars) ; F. C. Baur, *Das Christenthum und die christl. Kirche der drei ersten Jahrh.*, Tüb. 1853, 2d ed. 1860. Issue can be successfully joined with them only on the preliminary criticism of sources, not on the general conclusion.

136. For while Paul was working in his own way, and partly for this very reason, other phases of early Christian thought had also become more and more pronounced and distinct one from another. The great mass of ideas set in circulation had aroused reflection on all sides. The more sharply convictions were expressed the louder became the contradiction of them. This conflict of opinions, far from having a conciliatory or unifying effect, first, as is generally the case, split up systems and multiplied parties. Every point of doctrine in which there is a grain of spiritual life becomes the germ of a manifold growth of speculation, and widens the realm of thought and faith indefinitely. Once in the sphere of reason it soon wanders into that of passion, and the gospel, originally a matter of simple hope and quiet, faithful practice of virtue, became more and more a matter of science and of the schools, and thus drew the attention away from the goal toward which it should have directed it.

Cf. for the next following sections the last division of my *Histoire de la Théol. Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique (Les Idées et les Partis)*, II. 503 ff. of the 1st ed., or the 3d book of the following editions, especially ch. vi. ff., I. 329 ff. [E. tr. I. 284 ff.]

137. We have already seen that at the beginning there were formed in the Apostolic Church two parties, of which the one, the more numerous, consisted of the strict Judaists, who neither could conceive nor would endure the renunciation of the ancestral Law of Israel ; the other, much smaller, but spiritually superior, the Pauline, in theory had broken with the Law and in practice ignored it. It has also been already intimated that matters were not allowed to rest in this state of simple disagreement, but that an attempt was made to bring about an adjustment, both in doctrine and life, which should insure peace, and especially should satisfy those who from mere lack of spiritual energy were unwilling to renounce the old, yet in

their dawning discernment were unable to reject the new. To this number belonged especially the heads of the church at Jerusalem. But their formula in reality produced, in the first place, not peace, but a third party, and as respects doctrine only a clearer sense of the necessity of advancing beyond a position which proved itself to be a mere palliative.

The clear light which the researches of Baur have shed upon the history of the early Church has more than once been gratefully acknowledged in this book, and oftener still been used in silence. The emphatic dissent which has been or is yet to be expressed from some of his principles or conclusions does not alter this fact. After our declaration that the arguments urged by him against the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles seem to us altogether inconclusive, we come here upon a second point in which we differ essentially from him.

We distinguish the strict Judaists, against whom Paul's polemic (especially Galatians) is directed, and who are also condemned in Acts xi., xv., from the moderate Jewish Christians, who wished to lay upon the Gentiles the Noachian precepts (Acts xv. 28, τὰ ἐπὶ νόμους ταῦτα; xxi. 25, ἐπεστείλαμεν), but for the Jews made περιπατεῖν τοῖς ἔθεσι (xxi. 21), στοιχεῖν νόμον φυλάσσοντας (vs. 24) a matter of conscience, because the opposite would have been a formal ἀποστασία (vs. 21). Such Christians and Paul could mutually recognize each other (Gal. ii. 7), but could not work well together (vs. 9). There existed between them no division or schism, but it was quite necessary that their fields of labor should be distinct, and, to avoid tale-bearing, even some distance apart (οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι τι — ὅποιοι ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει — τινὲς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου — οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι, Gal. ii. 6, 12; 2 Cor. xi. 5).

This moderate party may have been very few in number and without influence; the Epistle to the Galatians proves indisputably that the σὺνδοκὸν at Jerusalem belonged to it, and consequently that the scene of Acts xv., at least so far as its main, essential features are concerned, has a historical foundation, and although perhaps some allowance must be made for the dramatic form, it does not represent the point of view of a much later time which has been falsely ascribed to the apostolic age.

138. When once the impulse of an intellectual development has been given and the soil prepared for it, no long time is needed to bring forth the most varied growths of thought. And when have the germs of religious speculation, both true and false, been more abundantly scattered in all lands and amid all classes of the civilized world than in the apostolic age? There is certainly no necessity, then, that we should distribute over a longer period the results of such a development which meet us here at the outset, or regard them as intelligible only in case they belong to some much later generation. Taken as they are, they are still, even on the judgment of the ancient Church, which everywhere exaggerated them, imperfect enough to be recognized as first fruits. Therefore, even should the names and personality of the writers remain once and again doubtful or altogether unknown to us, yet the majority of their works ought ever to maintain even their traditional claims as monuments of the primitive days of Christianity.

This is the third and most essential point of difference between the views

of Baur and our own : he eagerly and expressly regards the proved differences as successive, developed one out of another, and adduces later traces of the use or currency of any principle or formula as direct proofs of its later origin. Both conclusions are much too hasty. The manifold, the merely similar, even the derived, may easily be simultaneous ; and every century has seen illustrations of the fact that ideas and systems, often immediately upon their entrance into the world, are accepted by some unconditionally, by many are altered, mutilated, extended, developed. Even were we obliged to explain everything in the N. T. literature which Baur regards as polemic or irenic in precisely his sense, there would be no necessity of bringing it down fifty to eighty years. For such a conclusion there have been adduced only very doubtful arguments, not a single conclusive one.

139. For in the first place it is by no means unlikely that after Paul had once set the example other Apostles and church teachers followed it. His letters must surely have been always received with joy, and the state of the Church doubtless constantly demanded care like that which he had bestowed upon the congregations of his own founding. But it was not always local necessities and special cases which engaged the attention of his colleagues, in their otherwise quite different circumstances, but general tendencies, views, and dangers. Therefore, although the epistolary form was retained, it was rather a dress assumed, from custom. It certainly does not necessarily imply personal relations and experiences. The examples of this literature which we possess or of which we know represent many grades, in this respect, from actual epistles to pure treatises, just as in their contents they exhibit many different stages of Christian thought.

That there cannot have been very much writing in the apostolic age, even toward the end of the first generation, is evident from the reasons laid down in § 35 ff. for the preceding, initial period of the Church. Yet we are deprived by the very smallness of the number of these writings extant of all means of proving the probable losses. That the teachers of the Church continued to write to individual churches and to one another is shown by the epistles of Clement to the Corinthians and of John to Gaius (3 John). But as the organization of the Church and of the episcopacy became more consolidated and the sphere of influence of the individual became more contracted, this naturally became more and more rare.

140. A word more may be said at the outset of those who most bitterly opposed Paul. It was natural that his opponents, as they made use of every other means of influence, should imitate him in this respect also. We read of letters of commendation which they brought to Pauline churches. However harmless these may have been, from the very use that was made of them we cannot think of them as having had no reference at all to doctrine. But he is said to speak also of forged epistles, which they ascribed to the Apostle himself, and thus deceived the simple-minded and unwary. In view of the ideas of literary honor then prevalent and exhibited by Jewish-

Christian writers in numerous instances, this is not at all to be wondered at; and in view of the good sense of the churches it is just as little a matter for wonder that such pieces of palpable fraud should speedily vanish and leave no trace. Any more definite conjecture, however, must rest upon over-hasty inferences.

Ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί, 2 Cor. iii. 1. According to the connection of this fact with ch. x. ff., certainly of Jewish-Christian (Palestinian ?) origin.

The expositors find mention of a forged Pauline epistle in 2 Thess. ii. 2; using this note in part for other purposes than as a critical argument. But this passage has quite a different sense (§ 82), which is confirmed by vs. 15, where the former meaning is inapplicable.

What Tertullian, *De baptismo*, ch. 17, and others say of pseudo-Pauline literature does not belong here.

141. But those Christian doctrinal writings, a few of which, possibly of the period from the death of Paul to the end of the apostolic age proper, are still extant, may be described in common from two points of view. In theological contents, it is true, they are sharply and easily distinguished from one another, but none of them are extended enough to furnish material for a complete doctrinal system. Indeed, their character is such that it may be fairly doubted whether any complete system existed at their foundation, or, to say the least, whether their aim is so special a one that it did not give occasion for a more comprehensive statement of the gospel. The historian must carefully guard against dogmatic conclusions which sometimes, building on appearances, he might be inclined to draw from chance words or incidental ideas and figures. They lack throughout that anointing of the Spirit and of power which characterizes the works thus far considered, and, unlike these, have won the place which has preserved them from oblivion and placed them by the side of the others not so much by virtue of their contents as by virtue of the names attached to them.

These statements refer, in the first place, to the Epistles of James, Peter, and to the Hebrews, discussed in the following sections, though in different degrees. But they are yet more applicable to other writings, to be mentioned later, especially to the Epistles of Jude, Barnabas, Clement, etc. On their fate in the Church, see, for details, Book II.; on their early intimate connection with one another in the consciousness of the Church, see especially § 301. How far the Epistle to the Hebrews forms an exception will appear in the proper place. The epistles of John, particularly the first, we leave wholly aside for the present. But the statements of the following section are not to be referred solely to the three first mentioned.

142. In a literary point of view, on the other hand, it is to be noticed, in the first place, that they have before them a more ideal, or at least less concrete, audience, and consequently make facts less prominent than ideas, convictions, and principles. They connect not so much with life as with the school;

therefore certainly belong to a later stage of the literature, and in part, doubtless, for this very reason, have had greater difficulty in impressing themselves on the living consciousness of the Church. Their origin is yet problematical, their age disputed, their authors either unknown and only determined by the caprices of tradition, or, where they are expressly named, a subject of contradictory judgments. None of these questions will ever be decided with full certainty, even less in the future than in the past, either affirmatively or negatively, and investigators should be frank enough to admit it. Nevertheless, they flowed from the spirit of the apostolic age, and the names which they bear may and ought to be accepted as theological evidence even by those who will not acknowledge them as literary testimony.

G. C. Storr, *De catholicarum epp. occasione et consilio*, Tüb. 1789; C. F. Stäudlin, *De fontibus epp. cath.*, Gött. 1790; J. D. Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Petrus, Jacobus, und Judas*, L. 1802; *Der schriftstell. Char. des Joh.*, L. 1803.

F. B. Köster, *Ueber die Leser an welche die Briefe Jac. und 1 Petr. gerichtet sind* (*Studien*, 1831, III.); M. Schneckenburger, *Ueber dieselben* (*Württemberg. Studien*, V. 1).

Commentaries on all the so-called Catholic Epistles: G. Göpfert, 1780; G. Schlegel, 1783; J. B. Carpzov, 1790; J. C. W. Augusti, 1801; J. W. Grashof, 1830; C. R. Jachmann, 1838; B. B. Brückner, 1865 (3d ed. of De Wette's Commentary). [Nickel, 1852; Bisping, 1871; Lange, E. tr. with additions by Mombert, 1872; Huther, in Meyer, E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1882, 2 vols.] — James and Jude: J. G. Herder, 1775; S. Seemiller, 1783; C. E. Scharling, 1841. — James and Peter: S. F. N. Morus, 1794; J. J. Hottinger, 1815; D. J. Pott (1786), 1816.

143. The first of the writings to be mentioned here is the Epistle of James, both on account of its probable age and because of the lower plane of theological development upon which it stands. It appears, that is to say, as a product of Jewish Christianity, not so much from any express prominence given to the fundamental principles of that party as from a partly silent, partly expressed rejection of all the mystic and speculative elements of the Christian preaching. The latter are wholly lacking; of the former there are but faint traces, which indeed upon closer examination would scarcely be regarded as such; Christ himself is not presented to the reader as a subject of instruction, neither is he appealed to as authority in doctrine; yet, though unnamed, he is discernible spiritually, and even in principal words, as the real fountain of the doctrine, as it might be caused to flow abundantly by the power of a faithful memory. The Law retains its validity, yet the ethical side of it is alone made prominent, and its essence is made to consist in love of the brethren and freedom from sin. One may count up how often this James takes the

name of Christ on his lips, but he will not find that a church which should do according to his preaching, right or wrong, would dishonor that name.

In reality the Epistle of James contains in itself alone more verbal reminiscences of the discourses of Jesus than all the other apostolic writings taken together: *e. g.*, i. 17 = Mt. vii. 11; i. 20 = Mt. v. 22; i. 22 ff. = Mt. vii. 21 f.; i. 25 = Jn. xiii. 17; ii. 8 = Mk. xii. 31; ii. 13 = Mt. v. 7; iv. 12 = Mt. x. 28; v. 2 = Mt. vi. 19; v. 12 = Mt. v. 34; v. 15 = Mt. ix. 2, etc. Inasmuch as these are evidently not derived from written documents, they may lend support to the higher antiquity of the Epistle.

I. 18 cannot properly be adduced as evidence of the presence of a mystic element; the subject there is an effect to be brought about through preaching as a seed (vs. 24), but essentially to be completed by the hearing and action of men (vss. 19, 22). Perhaps one should infer therefrom at once a Christology in which the prophetic office held the chief place.

The ordinary statement of the relation between James and Paul, whatsoever form it may take, bears witness to the difficulty which the theologians of the schools find in entering into the spirit of a writer who was most decidedly not a theologian. He simply places himself at the standpoint of human experience, and judges men, according to Jesus' precept, by their works, ii. 14 ff. (which Paul also, as a man and a bishop, does, and cannot but do). But the theologian knows that for God there is another standpoint, because He knows and comprehends that inner principle in man whence action proceeds, the spiritual motive (*πίστις*). The two Apostles in this point are on totally different ground, not opposed to each other; and this the less as there are plenty of passages to be found in Paul where he speaks just as James does. To the view strenuously maintained of late, that the Epistle has no point of contact with the Pauline theology, and that the *πίστις* rejected is Pharisaic Orthodoxy and a vain calling of "Lord, Lord," I cannot give my assent.

Numerous harmonistic essays, *e. g.* Grotius, *Opp. theol.*, IV. 521; J. Hülsemann, *Harmonia ap. P. et J.*, Vit. 1643; Cocceius, *Opp.*, VII. 197; J. Vorst, *P. et J. de justific. conciliandi*, 1666; J. N. Misler, *Harmonia P. et J.*, Giss. 1678; Blasche, *Schwere Stellen*, II. 235; Dietlmair, *Abhh.*, I. 367; Benson, *Paraphr.*, III. 137; Wittig and Augusti, in Augusti's *Zeitschrift*, I. 167; Pott, *Excurs.*, p. 305; Schneckenburger, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1830, II.; Frommann, in the *Studien*, 1833, I.; Schleyer, in the *Freib. Zeitschr.*, IX. 1; Rau, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, 1845, II. Monographs by C. C. Tittmann, 1781; C. S. Rüger, *Conciliatio P. et J.*, 1785; G. C. Knapp, *De dispari formula*, etc., 1803 [E. tr. by Prof. Thompson, in *Bibl. Repos.*, III. 189]; Neander, *Paulus und Jacobus*, 1822; cf. his *Apost. Gesch.*, II. 448; P. J. Emmanuelsson, *De Jacobi cum Paulo consensu*, Ups. 1841; Schmid, *Bibl. Theol.*, II. 96; B. Weiss, in the *Berl. Zeitschr.*, Dec. 1854; Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, 163, 252 (French monographs by J. F. Dizier, Str. 1827; H. Gourjon, Str. 1831; J. Claparède, Gen. 1834; L. Marignan, Mont. 1841; J. Nogaret, Mont. 1846; F. Bauer, Str. 1856; H. Maubert, Toulouse, 1863; E. F. Lacroix, Mont. 1863).— Cf. in general my *Histoire de la Théol. Chret.*, I. 372, II. 524 (3d ed. I. 478, II. 251) [E. tr. I. 415, II. 229]; W. G. Schmidt, *Lehrgehalt des Jac. Br.*, L. 1869; Blom and Jungius, in the *Leidner Zeitschr.*, 1872, and the works on N. T. theology. [Bp. Bull, *Harmonia apost. et examen censurae*; Taylor, *Sermon on Faith working by Love*, Vol. VIII. 284, Lond. 1850; Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, IV., V., VI.; Prof. E. P. Barrows, *Alleged Disagreement between Paul and James*, in the *Bib. Sac.*, IX. 761; Neander, *Planting and Training*, II. 858; E. tr. by Robinson, p. 498; Weiffenbach, *Ueber Jac. ii. 14-26*, Giess. 1871; Schaff, *Ap. Ch.*, p. 625; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 521.]

On the conception of the Law (ii. 8 ff.), see, in particular, F. Kössing, *Das christl. Gesetz*, Hdlb. 1867.

144. There is apparently little connection or order of thought in this Epistle, and the author has been charged with having given himself up, without plan, to the chance flow of his ideas, although holding fast, under manifold figures, to one thought, the superiority of practical Christianity to a dead and verbal faith. But there is more than this in the book. The essential thing in it, and that which from the beginning almost to the end gives its key-note, is the opposition, already familiar to the mind of an Israelite, between the friendship of the world, conferring external blessings, but accursed, and the friendship of God, bringing external woe, but joyful in its promise, — the fundamental idea of genuine Ebionism. It is expressed now in words of comfort and encouragement, now in threatenings and warnings, with an evident inclination to regard even wealth itself as an indication of sin. Then comes, as a second chief thesis, the remark, giving occasion for vigorous and severe treatment, that by the increasing influence of theological discussion and by the taste therefor the church is disturbed in its life of quiet devoutness, diverted from its true goal, and its peace and joy destroyed. The aristocracy of the systems and of the scientific knowledge of the faith, to this author, limited as he is by birth and education, is as utterly abhorrent as the aristocracy of gold and fine clothes.

By Ebionism (not Ebionitism) I mean the oldest and most simple form of the ascetic tendency, as it was developed in the later periods of Judaism, under the pressure of heathen domination and internal corruption, among the nobler spirits, in opposition to Pharisaic scholasticism, external, formal worship, and social intrigue. It found utterance first in the later Psalms, gave rise to Essenism, but not until its more advanced stages, and especially formed an important element in the church of Christ by the resignation, quiet lives, and worthy though narrow piety of its representatives. אֲבִיּוֹן

אֲבִי, πτωχός, poor and pious.

The Epistle begins, i. 2 ff., with the antithesis of the world and God = wealth and poverty, and continually returns to it afterward, i. 9 ff., ii. 1 ff., 5 ff., iv. 1 ff., 9 f., 13 f.; v. 1 ff., 7 ff., without introducing into these discussions any specifically evangelical element. Poverty is pleasing to God, ii. 5; is = Christianity, ii. 7; = righteousness, v. 6; to be understood in the above pregnant sense. — Temptations also belong under the same head; there is no distinction to be made between external and internal (i. 12, 13); the latter are the consequences of the former when patience, trust in God, and hope (πίστις, i. 3 f., v. 8) are lacking.

Speech and strife appear to the author to be one and the same thing (i. 19; iii. 1 f., 5 ff., 14 ff.). Teaching he hates, because it interferes with doing, and is in itself unprofitable. It should be noted that a close connection of thought must be assumed between chs. ii. and iii. It is not the setting of one system over against another, as would necessarily have been the case in later time, but a simple, devout life over against theory and argument, which

are repulsive to him because unwonted. Piety fears science, and despises it as well ; and science, unfortunately, has in all ages frequently justified such judgment. Nothing is more contrary to the spirit of this Epistle than to judge of it from a standpoint of theological partisanship and to attempt to fix its date by that standard. — See in general, Palmer, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1865, I.

145. The writing is characterized by a pithy, sententious style, oftentimes bordering on the poetic, and bearing throughout a genuinely Oriental stamp. It reveals, however, no practiced thinker, but rather a simple man, steadfast in opinion and work, to whom all talking and disputing about religious matters seemed like stepping out of the temple altogether. As to its date, the Epistle certainly presupposes a wide-spread use and misuse of Pauline forms of speech, and the beginning of attempts to conceive and formulate the gospel as theology. But the circumstance that it does not oppose one theory to another, and does not understand the real significance of the phenomena of the time, but simply judges of their immediate practical influence, shows, on the other hand, that we should not bring it down too late. There can scarcely be any doubt that it sprang from Palestine, and that its purpose was to attempt to protect the Jewish Christians, at least, from the danger, which was so imminent in the empire without, of giving up, so short a time before the consummation, the faith that had hitherto sufficed them, amid the tumult of the new-fashioned disputation of the schools.

Further traces of high antiquity are the *συναγωγή*, ii. 2 ; the distinction, evidently still current, between Jews and Jewish Christians (*ibid.*) ; the near expectation of the Parousia, v. 8. — The conceptions, forms of speech, characteristic words, and proofs of the views of Christian truth current in the apostolic age, could not, as has been objected, have been learned from writings only, but must have come from living intercourse and the Scriptural proofs from the O. T., which had been longest used for this purpose. The citations in ii. 21 ff. come from no other source. But to regard the book for this reason as a pre-Pauline work, at whose date there was as yet no other preaching at all than the undeveloped Jewish Christian, perhaps no separate Christian churches (Schneckenburger; Thiersch, *Ap. Kirche*, 106 ff.), is opposed to a natural interpretation of the passages in question. See in general, Pfeiffer, in the *Studien*, 1852, I. [W. Beyschlag, *Der Jacobusbr. als urchristl. Geschichtsdenkmal*, in the *Studien u. Krit.*, 1874, I.]

Literature : J. H. Michaelis, *Introd. in ep. Jacobi*, Halle, 1722 ; J. A. Nösselt, *Conj. ad hist. ep. Jac. (Opp., II. 297)* ; J. Tobler, *Zufällige Gedanken über die Ep. Jac. (Henke's Mus., III. 308)* ; *Der Brief Jacobi (Ev. K. Zeitung*, 1834, p. 753) ; C. Frommann, in the *Halle Encycl.*, II. Pt. 14 ; F. H. Kern, *Charakter und Ursprung des Br. J. (Tüb. Zeitschr., 1835, II.)*. Introductory monographs in French by C. F. Brieka, *Str.* 1838 ; A. J. Galup, *Str.* 1842 ; J. Monod, *Mont.* 1846 ; J. Löffler, *Str.* 1850 ; T. Wohlwerth, *Str.* 1868. — J. Clausen, *Introd. in ep. Jac.*, Gött. s. a. ; E. Scherer, in the *Strassb. Revue*, XIV. p. 321 ; Leo Vèzes, *De ep. Jacobi*, *Mont.* 1871 ; C. Werner, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1872, II. ; F. Gaupp, *Ueber d. Leserkreis d. Br. Jac.*, *Br.* 1861.

J. P. Gabler, *De Jacobo ep. auctore*, 1787; L. Hohenstein, *Ob Jacobus ein Essder gewesen?* (Scherer's *Schriftforscher*, I. 112); Niemeyer, *Char. d. Bibel*, Part I.; F. L. Schaumann, *Origo apost. ep. Jac.*, Hels. 1840; H. Wybelingh, *Quis sit ep. Jac. scriptor?* Gron. 1854.

M. Weber, *De Ep. Jac. cum ep. et orat. ejusdem Actis inserta utiliter comparanda*, Vit. 1795; M. Schneckenburger, *Der theol. Charakter und die Abfassungszeit d. Br. Jac.* (*Beiträge*, 196); C. F. Kaiser, *De nonnullis ep. Jac. virtutibus*, Halle, 1797; C. G. Küchler, *De rhetorica ep. Jac. indole*, L. 1818; E. Pfeiffer, *Zusammenhang d. Br. Jac.* (*Studien*, 1850, I.); A. Boon, *De ep. Jac. cum l. Sirac. convenientia*, Gron. 1860.

Commentaries (§ 142): G. Benson, ed. Michaelis, 1747; C. T. Damm, 1747; S. J. Baumgarten, 1750; J. S. Semler, 1781; G. C. Storr, 1784; E. F. C. Rosenmüller, 1787; J. L. W. Scherer, 1799; C. G. Hensler, 1801; J. Schulthess, 1824; A. R. Gebser, 1828; M. Schneckenburger, 1832; C. G. W. Theile, 1833; F. H. Kern, 1838; R. Stier, 1845; J. E. Cellierier (Fr.), 1850; A. Wiesinger, 1854 [in Olshausen, E. tr. N. Y. 1858]; J. E. Huther, 1858 [in Meyer, E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1882]; H. Bouman, *Traj. 1865*. [Neander, E. tr. by Mrs. H. C. Conant, N. Y. 1852; A. S. Paterson, *1 Thess., James, 1 John*, Edinb. 1857; R. Wardlaw, *Lectures on the Ep. of James*, Edinb. 1862; Lange and Van Oosterzee, in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, XIII. 1862, E. tr. by Mombert, 1867; T. Trapp, *Comm. on the N. T.*, Lond. 1865, p. 693; John Adam, Edinb. 1867; Bassett, 1876; Plumptre, in the Cambridge series, 1878; Punchard, in Ellicott, 1878; Erdmann, 1882; Gloag, 1883.]

146. The James who names himself as the author can be no other than the one who appears in the writings of Paul and in the Acts as the head of the church at Jerusalem. His official position made it fit that the Christians of the circumcision should look upon him as their common leader, and what we know or may conjecture of his religious bent agrees admirably with the contents of the Epistle. It is true, all this is not sufficient, of itself, to establish its genuineness beyond all doubt; the less since there is no definite ecclesiastical tradition upon the subject. But the uncertainty of tradition may have arisen from other and very simple causes. If the Epistle were of later date, as has been asserted, but without sufficient reason, it would only be the more certain that the model of the alleged author is to be recognized in the above-mentioned bishop of Jerusalem.

The characterization of the Epistle by the Tübingen criticism (Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. 413 ff.) abandons all solid ground when it brings it down late into the second century, and makes it to have sprung from late sources. That *πλοῦσιοι* are Pauline Christians (is ii. 2 allegorical, then?) is a postulate of this criticism, not a proof of its assertions. The numerous cases of use of the Pauline Epistles, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the Gospel of the Hebrews, of Hermas, of Philo (why not of the Clementines themselves?), exist only in the imagination of the critics. They wholly overlook the highly unique originality of this Epistle, whose author, far from standing above the parties in order to reconcile them, does not know how to deal with ideas at all, and in noble uprightness values only the strict practice of concrete duties, and hates talk. To ascribe to him any ulterior motives at all is simply a useless display of acuteness.

On James cf. § 56. It must be admitted that the Epistle does not expressly appear in any authority before the third century (Peshito and Origen, in the latter with doubts). In view of the subjective manner in which the canon was formed, and of the one-sided, Jewish Christian character of the Epistle (in which sphere, at first, there was least of all any thought of a proper Christian canon), nothing can be inferred from this fact against its origin. Later, the uncertainty as to the apostolic character of James himself came in as an additional obstacle.

Against his authorship might be urged the remarkably flexible and even poetically ornate Greek style. Nothing is explained by incidental resemblances to certain passages of Sirach, etc.; moreover, these are very slight. But what do we really know of the means of culture of any particular Apostle?

Recent essays on the date, originality, etc., of the Epistle: W. Grimm, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1870, IV.; Hilgenfeld, *ibidem*, 1873, I.; A. H. Blom, in the *Leidner Zeitschr.*, 1871, p. 454 ff. On the other side, Beyschlag, in the *Studien*, 1874, I.

An attack on the genuineness of v. 12-20 was attempted by E. C. Rauch, in Winer's *Journal*, VI. 257. Against him, Hagenbach, *ibidem*, VII. 395; Schneckenburger, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1829, III.

147. By the side of this Epistle there appears a second, which, although of a very different spirit, yet has many characteristics in common with that just discussed, and is subject to similar doubts in still greater measure. This is the so-called First Epistle of Peter. It is in the main a hortatory writing, which impresses upon its readers a series of general and particular duties, and founds their obligatory character, next to the general Christian hope, upon the purpose and efficacy of the death of Jesus. Regard is had also to the prevailing hostile attitude of the world toward the Church, and an additional reason deduced therefrom for a zealously pure, exemplary, and Christ-like walk in life. No definite circle of readers, with whom the writer was personally acquainted, or who were otherwise known to him, by peculiar circumstances, can be made out from this sermon. Even the inscription is general, — to all the churches of Asia Minor, — and the allusions, which may be referred to Jewish or Gentile Christians, are rather inclusive than exclusive.

The readers whom the author has in mind are once and again characterized (ii. 9 f., iv. 3; cf. also i. 14) as those who have been heathen, but it is not to be inferred from this that the Jewish Christian element in the churches is excluded. The statements of later writers as to a personal relation between the author and his readers (Euseb. iii. 1, 4, and others) are inferences from i. 1.

The readers are called *παροικοι, παρεπίδημοι* (i. 1; ii. 11), are considered therefore as *גררים*, proselytes; i. e., Israelites in faith, but not in cultus. This is the standpoint of the ritual established at Jerusalem; cf. ii. 10; iii. 6; they are become children of Sarah, adopted and incorporated into the Jewish stock; v. 3, *κληροποι*, members of Jehovah's peculiar people. The ordinary interpretation sees in them only pilgrims upon earth as opposed to heaven.

Literature (beside that cited in § 142): E. T. Mayerhoff, *Einleitung in*

die petrinischen Schriften, B. 1835. Cf. Bleek, in the *Studien*, 1836, IV. [*On the Epistles of Peter*, two articles in Kitto's *Journal of Sacr. Lit.*, Jan. and July, 1861, the latter on the 2d Ep. and the apocryphal writings ascribed to Peter.]

Commentaries on both the Epistles of Peter : J. C. Klemm, 1747 ; J. F. Schirmer, 1778 ; J. S. Semler, 1 *Pet.*, 1783, 2 *Pet. u. Jud.*, 1784 ; G. F. Baumgärtel, 1788 ; G. B. Eisenschmid, 1824 ; J. D. Schlichthorst, 1836 ; J. E. Huther, 1852 [in Meyer, E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1883] ; A. Wiesinger, 1856 [in Olshausen, E. tr. N. Y. 1858] ; T. Schott, 1 *Pet.*, 1861, 2 *Pet. u. Jud.*, 1863. [De Wette, III. 1, 3d ed. by B. Brückner, L. 1865 ; Fronmüller, in Lange, Vol. IX. of E. tr. N. Y. 1867 ; J. F. Demarest, 1 *Pet.*, N. Y. 1851, 2 *Pet.*, 1865 ; John Brown, 1 *Pet.*, 3d ed. Edinb. & N. Y. 1868, 2 *Pet.*, 1868 ; John Lillie, N. Y. 1869.]

On the First : N. Nonnen, 1758 ; C. G. Hensler, 1813 (§ 86) ; W. Steiger, 1832 [E. tr. Edinb. 1836]. In systematic form : A. L. Pölmann, *Theologia petrina*, Gron. 1850 ; J. C. Koch, *Petri theol. per diversas vitæ periodos sensim explicata*, Leyd. 1854 ; B. Weiss, *Der petr. Lehrbegriff*, B. 1855 ; earlier by the same author, *Pet. ap. doctrina de persona Christi*, 1852. Cf. Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1856, II. ; Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, 173 ; G. F. Simon, *Étude dogmatique sur S. Pierre*, Str. 1858 ; J. de Grenier-Fajal, *Personne et Œuvre de Christ d'après les discours et écrits de Pierre*, Mont. 1861. See also the general works on N. T. theology, e. g., Baur, p. 287, Weiss, p. 154, etc. ; Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 417 [E. tr. II. 148 ; Abp. Leighton, in numerous editions.]

[On the Second Epistle in particular : Ullmann, 1821 ; Dietlein, B. 1851 ; Steinfass, Rost. 1863 ; Harms, 1873.]

On the first chapter in particular : J. F. Krause, Kön. 1812 ; G. Ruitenschild, Leid. 1825 ; J. F. Winzer, L. 1843 ; F. L. Steinmeyer, B. 1854. (On iii. 18 f. see the following section.)

148. There is undeniably a close affinity throughout with Pauline ideas and phraseology ; nay, even an evident dependence in some passages on Pauline writings. But this is counterbalanced by just as plain a use of the Epistle of James. It should be noted, moreover, that the author altogether fails to apprehend the system of Paul in its depth. He appropriates, it is true, a number of the striking words and formulas of Paul, but the main thought, without which all else is destitute of coherence and theological significance, he leaves untouched ; a weakening, only too often, even though unwittingly, repeated in the Church, of a rule of gospel faith to whose full acceptance understanding and memory are not equal. What the author adds to former teaching from his own store has ever been to church and school an unsolved problem.

The dependence holds clearly only of single passages, not of the fundamental idea of the Epistle as a whole : cf. i. 1 with Eph. i. 3 ff. ; i. 14 with Eph. ii. 3, Rom. xii. 2 ; i. 21 with Rom. iv. 24 ; ii. 5 with Rom. xii. 1 (Eph. ii. 20) ; ii. 6-10 with Rom. ix. 25, 32 ff. ; ii. 11 with Rom. vii. 23 ; ii. 13 with Rom. xiii. 1 ff. ; ii. 18 with Eph. vi. 5 ; iii. 1 ff. with Eph. v. 22 ff. ; iii. 9 with Rom. xii. 17 ; iii. 22 with Rom. viii. 34, Eph. i. 20 f. ; iv. 1 with Rom. vi. 6 ff. ; iv. 10 with Rom. xii. 6 ff. ; v. 1 (i. 5 ; iv. 13) with Rom. viii. 18 ; v. 5 with Eph. v. 21. — Of other Pauline Epistles, Gal. v. 13 may be compared with ii. 16. The circumstance that two epistles only furnish these parallels shows that the coincidence is not accidental. Since, however,

the aim in these passages is not so much systematic as practical, the use made of Paul in them would naturally be rather a rhetorical and homiletic (incidentally welcome) one than introductory to dogmatic and (far-fetched) unionistic efforts.

Side by side with these, and almost more striking, are the parallels between i. 6 f. and Ja. i. 2; i. 24 and Ja. i. 10 f.; ii. 1 and Ja. i. 21; ii. 11 and Ja. iv. 1; iv. 8 and Ja. v. 20; v. 5, 9 and Ja. iv. 6, 7, 10. This fact alone, aside from all other considerations, proves that the reverse relation — Paul dependent upon Peter — is inadmissible.

The theological basis of this by no means dogmatic Epistle is the Pauline in ideas and principal terms, — a position which I have supported at length in my *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 581 ff. (3d ed. 291 ff.) [E. tr. II. 262]. Yet in details it is presented in very different form; e. g., *πίστις* (i. 5 ff., 21; v. 9) and *δικαιοσύνη* (ii. 24; iii. 12 ff.; iv. 18) are taken in a wholly different sense, the mystic element being entirely left out, and works appear as means of grace (ii. 20 f.; iii. 9, etc.). Regeneration is only an event brought about by teaching and example, and accomplished by our own decision (i. 23; ii. 21; iv. 1). Redemption is external (ii. 24), and the morality following it is the purpose, not the result of it. Perhaps obedience even precedes purification (i. 2). — To regard hope as the general subject of the whole Epistle is one-sided and unnecessary, especially if the intent be to place it beside the faith of Paul and the love of John as a third gospel theme.

An author who has read the Ephesians and Romans and is writing to the Galatians does not talk of the Law. In his belief, there is food enough in the gospel without this polemic side of preaching. — It has been attempted by Schmid, *Bibl. Theol.*, II. 151, and Weiss, *l. c.*, to represent the theological content of this Epistle as wholly separate from the Pauline type of doctrine and anterior to it.

The mention of the descent of Christ into Hades, iii. 18, iv. 6, regarding which scholasticism did not arrive at a final statement even in the 17th century, contains a beautiful idea, and those who distort by their own prejudices the sense of his words most certainly should not make it a reproach to the Apostle that he did not carry it out and apply it. Of the numberless essays on this subject we content ourselves with mentioning some of the most recent: Pott, *Excurs. ad 1 Pet.*; Stange, *Symmiketa*, III. 78; Flatt, *Opp.*, p. 75; F. W. Dresde, *ad loc.*, Vit. 1801; Gabler and Vogel, in Gabler's *Journal*, X., XI.; Muzel, in Henke's *N. Mag.*, VI. 494; J. G. A. Hacker, *De descensu*, etc., Dr. 1802; M. Weber, Vit. 1805; C. G. D. Stein, B. 1839; H. A. W. Bermann, Penig, 1830; Winzer, L. 1844; J. J. Prins, Leyd. 1835; H. A. Pistorius, in Rudelbach's *Zeitschr.*, 1846, II.; most elaborately, J. L. König, *Die Lehre von Christi Höllenfahrt*, Frankf. 1842; E. Güder, *Die Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Todten*, Bern, 1853; E. F. Berthezène, *Essai exégétique sur 1 Pierre iii. 18 sqq.*, Str. 1858; G. v. Zezschwitz, *Petri de descensu . . . sententia*, L. 1857; A. Schweizer, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle als Mythos*, Z. 1868; H. Müller, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1870, III.; and many others. [Delitzsch and Guericke, in the *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol.*, 1864, IV.]

149. Ecclesiastical tradition from the earliest times is unanimous in favor of Peter as the author. But many of the phenomena discussed are surprising in an Apostle whom authentic history names as a pillar of Jewish Christianity, and whose name, certainly not without cause, served as the standard of a party. The supposition that Sylvanus, the former companion of Paul, who is mentioned at the close of the Epistle, guided

the pen for Peter in its composition, only partially obviates the difficulties. The Epistle does not enter into doctrinal controversies that were perhaps then in existence, and although it may be said that it takes a mediating position between the opposing parties of the Christian Church, yet it does this not designedly and in so many words, but in spirit and tone. Inasmuch as the Apostle named in the inscription appears in history as the one who actually did attempt to adjust differences and to remove misunderstandings which threatened division, one may be inclined to admit that his name does not meet us here merely as a false mask, even though his immediate participation in the work cannot be made wholly certain.

In judging of the position of Peter and in drawing his mental physiognomy, one is apt to allow himself to be influenced altogether too much by the party prejudice which certainly existed in the ancient Church, which assumes a complete chasm between him and Paul. But (§ 137) Paul himself, and agreeing with him the Acts, paint him differently, and assign to him a different position. And perhaps it is not so difficult to find this other position attested also in this Epistle. How will one prove that the principle stated in Acts xv. 11, upon which the Epistle is a commentary, cannot have been expressed by Peter? Is not the position here assigned to the Gentiles (§ 147) that recognized by him in Acts x. and xv., Gal. ii. 7 ff.? Is it not implied, again, in Gal. ii. 12 ff., that although Peter did not preach the Law to the Gentiles (as it is accordingly wanting here), yet he did not therefore personally renounce it (as also he does not do here)? Is there not in i. 15 (*καὶ αὐτοί*) and in ii. 10 a certain preference of Israel? Cf. on this point i. 17 with Acts x. 34. The absence of definite reminiscences from the discourses of Jesus might surprise us (cf. with James); yet they are not wholly wanting: i. 22; ii. 2, 20, 25; iii. 9, 14, 17; iv. 15 ff.; v. 7.

As *λογίζομαι*, v. 12, would be strange, did it express a (to be rejected) doubt of the Christian character of Sylvanus, or assume a patronage of him. But may it not be an expression of praise (1 Cor. iv. 17; Eph. vi. 21), without any bad or weakening suggestion, as the word is used, with fuller force, in Rom. iii. 28, 2 Cor. xi. 5, etc.? The co-elect, v. 13, is certainly the church, and not the wife of the Apostle. The *σὺν* in composition refers to Peter, not to Paul; still less does it designate the two as belonging together. But if Mark (v. 13) was an offense in the Pauline Epistles, because, being an adherent of Peter, he does not belong there (§§ 123, 128), why then should he be an offense here also? Is he a purely mythical personage? That he alone is mentioned is doubtless chiefly due to the fact that he alone, of those who were then about the author, was known among his readers. Ch. v. 3 is said to presuppose a distinction between clergy and laity. But *κλήροι* in later time are anything but laymen, and in 2 Cor. i. 24 we have precisely the same expression. Notwithstanding all these considerations, it is not easy to reconcile the theological complexion and geographical horizon of the author as obtained from the Epistle with the other data of history, and its dependence upon Pauline Epistles, whose general dissemination during the lifetime of Peter is scarcely conceivable, will always throw a heavy adverse weight into the scale.

Cf. G. Seyler, *Ueber die Gedankenordnung in den Reden und Briefen des Petrus* (Studien, 1832, L.); W. Meyer, *Zur Charakteristik des Ap. Pet.* (Kieler Mittheilungen, I. 1); Cludius, *Ursichten des Christenthums*, 296; Böhme, in the *Analekten*, IV. 1; Guerike, *Beiträge*, 165; J. C. W. Augusti,

Primæ ep. Petri authenticæ, Jena, 1808 ; E. C. Rauch, *Rettung der Originalität des ersten Brief Petrus*, in Winer's *Journal*, VIII. ; Schwegler's *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 2 ff. ; J. C. Zaalberg, *Disq. in authenticam prioris P. ep.*, Leyd. 1851 ; B. Weiss, *Die petrinische Frage*, in the *Studien*, 1865, IV. ; W. Grimm, *Das Problem des ersten Petrus-Briefs*, ibidem, 1872, IV.

150. External evidence gives us no more light than the contents and aim of the Epistle. The history of the after life of the Apostle Peter is disfigured by so many extravagant legends that it has become altogether uncertain. That he labored for any long period in Asia Minor and Rome, or in a position of supreme authority at all, must be denied. That he met his death in the latter city is a bare possibility. The fact that, in opposition to all other tradition, our Epistle is dated at Babylon might speak in its favor ; moreover, a preaching by him to the Jews in the East seems in other respects also not improbable. As to the date, we are destitute of any fixed basis for a decision. Its dependence upon other epistles forbids us to go far back of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem ; other signs favor the supposition of a much later composition.

The idea that Babylon, v. 13, is a mystic name for Rome (many older writers, in the interest of the Catholic traditions respecting Peter ; also Thiersch, *Ap. Kirche*, p. 96 ff., 203 ; but also Baur, *Drei ersten Jahrh.*, p. 130, finding therein a proof of spuriousness ; see on the opposite side Lange, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, XI. 435) accords neither with the spirit of the Epistle nor with any literary - ecclesiastical combination reaching back into the immediate neighborhood of the apostolic period. A doctrinal epistle is not an apocalypse. Nor is it either demonstrable or probable that in later times the apocalyptic use of language without intimation was generally accepted among the Christians. The persecutions as they are described in i. 6, ii. 12, iii. 13, 16, iv. 12 ff., v. 10, do not give the impression of something fierce and bloody, like that of Nero ; they lend no support, therefore, to a composition at Rome in the last years of Nero ; just as little, however, to the assumption of a forgery under the name of Peter at a later date, since in such a work the idea of the martyrdom of the Apostle, cf. 2 Pet. i. 14, would have forced itself into the foreground and ruled the whole picture. The name Christian, iv. 16, had been in use among Latins and Greeks for decades, and does not decide for a later origin. According to iv. 7 the belief in the Parousia cannot as yet have been weakened by a long intervening time since the destruction of Jerusalem. That the author had Pliny's letter to Trajan, X. 97, before him, and made use of it, is a strange conceit, not an argument. This Epistle teaches us, moreover, that even the persecution in Bithynia was by no means bloodless or light. The relation to the Pauline Epistles (§ 148) shows that the author had no collection of them at command. The mention of Mark and Sylvanus makes no chronological difficulty, since in any case we must place it later than the time of Paul. The idea that the Epistle was written before those of Paul is unnatural, obscures the originality of the latter, and makes greater difficulties in order to escape less.

Cf. Wieseler's *Chronol.*, p. 552 f. ; E. Lecoultre, *Sur la prem. Ép. de Pierre*, Gen. 1839. On the Petrine legends cf. also § 253.

151. The third writing to be mentioned here is the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews. Originally, doubtless, it was not writ-

ten as an actual epistle, although in its present form such designation cannot be denied it. It divides itself, that is to say, into two easily distinguishable parts: a rhetorical essay on the theme of the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, and an epistolary postscript, which has no further connection with the preceding, and perhaps was not in the original plan of the author. At every step a twofold parallel is drawn between the Old Covenant and the New: first with regard to their respective mediators, the angels and Moses on the one side and the Son on the other; then with regard to their contents, promises, and results, wherein the unsatisfying, material, external, ever repeated and ever ineffective character of the old temple, priest, and offering, is set in vivid contrast with the eternally enduring, valid, and efficacious one which the new revelation has brought to light. Impressive warnings are interspersed through the whole Epistle and close it, showing that in this case also the building up of the Church was the aim of the work, not the desire to make an exhibition of acuteness.

The so-called Epistle to the Hebrews, since it is older than the Gospel of John, is the first systematic treatise on Christian theology. It is this by virtue of its plan, which was laid out in full consciousness, and which depends upon the subject and upon the independent thought of the author, which lays hold on the higher facts of Christian knowledge (v. 11 ff.; vi. 1), and not upon any incidental, external relations whatever. That the ethical element should also be made prominent is natural from the spirit of early Christian literature. But how purely theoretical the standpoint of the author is appears from the fact that the principal concrete, practical question of the time, which is everywhere prominent in the works of Paul, — circumcision, — is not mentioned at all. The closing verses are loosely appended, and in the absence of a corresponding introduction ought not to decide as to the nature and form of the writing: cf. I. Berger, in the *Göttinger Bibl.*, III. 449; T. A. Seyffarth, *De ep. ad Heb. indole maxime peculiari*, L. 1821; P. Hofstede de Groot, *Ep. ad Heb. cum paulinis epp. comparatur*, Traj. 1826.

The Christology, in its expressions (i. 3 and others) leaning toward Alexandrian speculation, appears in a more developed and coherent form than in Paul, and has a wholly distinct spiritualizing tendency (vii. 3), in which the connection of Christ with humanity is obscured (*ἀνθρώπου*); the doctrine of the state of humiliation reminds one of Phil. ii., but is yet more philosophically treated. (Cf. Seyffarth, *Christologie des Heb. Br.*, in Bertholdt's *Journal*, XV. 1; C. B. Moll, *Christologia ep. ad Heb.*, Halle, 1854 f.; C. Zimmermann, *La personne et l'œuvre de Christ d'après l'ép. aux Heb.*, Str. 1858; A. Sarrus, *Jésus Christ, d'après l'auteur de l'ép. aux Heb.*, Str. 1861.) [Beysehlag, *Christologie des N. T.*, 1866, 176 ff.; on the Melchizedek priesthood, Auberlen, in the *Studien*, 1857, p. 453.]

The doctrine of salvation is controlled by the idea of the priesthood of Christ, which does not appear in Paul (*De Christo sacerdote*, L. 1769; C. C. Tittmann, *De notione sacerdotis in ep. ad Heb.*, 1783; J. F. Winzer, *De sacerdotis officio quod tribuitur Christo in ep. ad Heb.*, L. 1825). But this idea, and what is connected with it, gives the dogma a setting very different from the Pauline formula. The mystic element is lacking. *πίστις* is essentially synonymous with trust in God and hope (ch. xi. *passim*; cf. x. 22 f., 39); of regeneration, calling, justification, nothing is said. *δικαιοσύνη* has a differ-

ent basis (xii. 11 ; xi. 7), and the word in x. 38 requires a wholly different sense than in Rom. i. 17. Atonement and redemption are accomplished outside the individual ; properly, indeed, in heaven (vii. 25 ; ix. 24).

In like manner, not only is all allusion to the relation between faith and works absent, but also, with the exception of a passing glimmer (ii. 9), all reference to principles of universality. There are no Gentiles, *ἔθνη*, to this author (cf. ii. 16), and the people, *ὁ λαός*, is always the Jewish people.

The Law and the Old Covenant are to be abrogated, but no radical distinction separates them from the gospel. It is a *κρείττον τι* (xi. 40 ; cf. vii. 19, 22 ; viii. 6 ; ix. 23), a stage of development, not a contrast, and particularly not the Pauline one between *νόμος* and *εὐαγγέλιον* or *πνεῦμα*. Yet it is a false inference from viii. 13 that according to this author the Law is not to pass away until some future time, and gradually ; he says *ἐγγὺς* from the standpoint of the ancient prophecy, and when he calls the fruit and kernel of the new revelation a *δύναμις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος* (vi. 5) it is with reference to the hoped-for Sabbath rest.

On the theology of this epistle, cf. C. C. Meyer, *Essai sur la doctrine de l'ép. aux Hébreux*, Str. 1845 ; Köstlin, *Joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 387 ff. ; G. C. Storr, *De consensu epp. ad Hebræos et Gal.*, Tüb. 1791 ; F. C. van den Ham, *Doctr. ep. ad Hebr.*, Traj. 1847 ; Lutterbeck, *Neutestl. Lehrbegriff*, II. 245 ; my *Histoire de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 533 ff. (3d ed. 265 ff.) [E. tr. II. 238] ; Ritschl, *Alt kath. Kirche*, 2d ed. p. 159 ff. ; Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, p. 159 ; E. C. A. Riehms, *Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes*, 1858, 2 vols. ; M. Schneckenburger, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Hebräerbr.* (*Studien*, 1861, III.) ; A. Capillery, *Christ et son œuvre d'après l'ép. aux Heb.*, Toulouse, 1866 ; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 324 ff. [E. tr. II. 51] ; Baur, *Theol. des N. T.*, p. 230 f. ; Weiss, p. 522 f. [Neander, *Planting and Training*, Robinson's ed. p. 487.] — Modern scholars (that is to say, those who do not belong to the school of Baur) are beginning to see that we have in this Epistle an entirely peculiar conception of Christianity, which only prejudice can regard as pure Paulinism.

152. The method of the book, when compared with that of the other apostolic books, is one peculiar to the author, although by no means invented by him. It is based essentially upon the allegorical-typical interpretation of the Old Testament. This had long been used in the philosophy of the Alexandrian Jewish schools. But since Christianity stood in much closer connection with the sacred writings of Israel than did the Greek philosophy, Christian writers may and must have early applied them with great felicity to the purposes of the gospel preaching. Only what had before been done rather occasionally and in single points appears here as the perfect model of the class, and at the same time as a successful attempt, by means of this particular way of looking at theological truth, to free the Jewish Christians from their confining attachment to their ancestral forms.

General Introduction : S. Deyling, 1749 ; L. J. Uhland, 1777 ; W. C. L. Ziegler, *Vollst. Einl. in d. Br. an die Heb.*, Gött. 1791 ; C. L. Camerer, *Prüfung*, etc., in his *Versuchen*, p. 75 ff. ; De Wette, in the *Encyclopädie* of Ersch and Gruber, § 2, III. 329 ; Schweigler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 304 ; H. Thiersch, *De ep. ad Hebræos*, Marb. 1848 ; Wieseler, *Chronol.*, 479 ff. ; Delitzsch, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1849, II. ; Köstlin, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1853,

III. ; 1854, III., IV. ; C. Wieseler, *Unters. über den Hebräerbr.*, Kiel, 1861; W. Grimm, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1870, I. ; Holtzmann, in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, VIII. 512 ff. ; Hilgenfeld, *Urchristenthum*, p. 76 ff. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 808 ff.]

Blasche, *Typologie*, p. 231 ff. ; W. de Wette, *Ueber die symbolisch-typische Lehrart des Br. an die Hebr.* (Berl. *Zeitschr.*, III.) [Tholuck, *Das A. T. im N. T.*, 3d ed. 1849 : E. tr. by C. A. Aiken, in *Bib. Sac.*, July, 1854 ; 5th ed. of the original, 1861 ; Norton, in the *Christian Examiner*, 1828 ; Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture*, Am. ed. I. 362 ff.] ; J. J. Griesbach, *De imaginibus judaicis*, etc. (Opp., II. 426 ff.) ; H. L. Planck, *Negatur philosophiæ platoniciæ vestigia extare in ep. ad Heb.*, Gött. 1810. C. G. L. Grossmann, *De philosophiæ Judæorum sacre vestigiis in ep. ad Heb.*, L. 1833. — Note especially the close relationship of the Epistle with Philonian modes of thought and expression, upon which, beside the commentaries of Carpzov and Schulz, see Köstlin, *l. c.*, p. 408 ff.

Commentaries of modern date : J. J. Rambach, 1742 ; J. Peirce, 1747 ; J. B. Carpzov, 1750 ; J. A. Cramer, 1757 ; S. J. Baumgarten, 1763 ; A. Struensee, 1763 ; J. D. Michaelis, 1764 [2d ed. 1780–86, 2 vols.] ; C. F. Schmid, with introduction by C. A. Crusius, 1766 ; A. A. Sykes (Engl.), 1779 ; S. F. N. Morus, 1781 ; F. W. Hezel, 1795 ; J. A. Ernesti, 1795 ; G. C. Storr (1789), 1809 ; D. Schulz, 1818 ; C. F. Böhme, 1825 ; Moses Stuart (Engl.), 1827 [4th ed. abridged and revised by Robbins, 1860] ; F. Bleek, 1828–40, 3 Pts. [his *Vorlesungen*, ed. Windrath, 1868] ; C. G. Kuinoel, 1831 ; H. E. G. Paulus, 1833 ; H. Klee, 1833 ; A. Tholuck, 1836 and freq. [E. tr. Edinb. 1852] ; C. W. Stein, 1838 ; L. Stengel, 1849 ; J. H. A. Ebrard, 1851 [in Olshausen ; E. tr. Edinb. 1853] ; G. Lünemann (1855), 4th ed. 1878 [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1882] ; F. Delitzsch, 1857 [E. tr. Edinb. 1868, 2 vols.] ; E. Reuss (Fr.), 1862 ; C. Schweighäuser (Fr.), 1862 ; A. Maier, 1861 ; J. H. Kurtz, 1869 ; H. Ewald, 1870 ; J. C. C. v. Hofmann, 1873. [Stier, 1842 ; De Wette, 2d ed. 1847 ; Moll, in Lange, E. tr. by Kendrick, N. Y. 1868 ; Wörner, 1876 ; Biesenthal, 1878 ; Zill, 1879 ; John Owen († 1683), Lond. 1668 ; new ed. 7 vols. in his *Works*, Lond. 1826, Edinb. 1850, Phila. 1869 ; Turner, N. Y. 1855 ; S. F. Sampson, ed. by Dabney, N. Y. 1856 ; A. S. Patterson, Edinb. 1856 ; J. A. Haldane, Lond. 1860 ; John Brown, Edinb. 1862 ; W. Lindsay, Edinb. 1867, 2 vols. ; Longking, N. Y. 1867 ; Ripley, Boston, 1868 ; Saphir, Lond. 1876 ; H. Cowles, N. Y. 1878 ; A. B. Davidson, Edinb. 1882.]

153. The book, therefore, completely justifies its title, which evidently refers to Jewish Christians as a whole, though it certainly did not proceed from the author. The style might almost be called classical, and is much superior to that of the other apostolic writings. As to the name of the author no trustworthy tradition has been preserved. The Church, but after long wavering and only from weariness of doubt, has settled upon an untenable opinion. He was certainly a Jew by birth and a Pauline Christian ; very probably not a native of Palestine, and possibly the renowned Apollos of Alexandria, of whom the early history of the Church often makes mention as an inspired interpreter of the Scriptures. For the refutation of the current opinion that Paul himself guided the pen, or at least furnished the thought, it is not necessary to appeal to the externals of form and language, since in the very outlines of the theology taught the essential element of the

Pauline theology, faith in its mystic relation to the person of Christ, is wholly lacking, and in its place there is set forth as the foundation of the Christian doctrine of redemption only an acceptance as true of supersensual verities, a trust in the divine promises, and a rather outwardly conceived atonement through the blood of Christ.

In accordance with § 151, it is not easy to determine from the treatment a locally definite body of readers. The author has in mind as he writes not individual men, but tendencies. Special touches, like v. 11 f., vi. 10, x. 32 f., xii. 4, are in part matters of quite general experience, and in part may have been derived from the author's immediate surroundings. The more particular references in the epistolary appendix, xiii. 19, 23 f., do not point to Palestine. Were we obliged to think of local relations throughout, even in the main part of the writing, we should think first of Alexandria. — J. D. Michaelis, *App. to Peirce, Paraphr.*, p. 48; J. A. Nösselt, *Opp.*, I. 269; C. Hase, in *Winer's Journal*, II. 265; M. Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, 153; E. M. Röth, *Ep. vulgo ad Hebræos dictam ad Chr. ex gentilibus scriptam esse et quidem ad Ephesios*, Fr. cf. 1846. — M. J. Mack, *Ueber die urspr. Leser*, etc., Tüb. 1836; W. F. Rineck, in the *Studien*, 1839, IV.; G. C. Ä. Lünemann, *De ep. ad Heb. primis lectoribus*, Gött. 1853; Holtzmann, in the *Studien*, 1859, II. [also in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1867, I.]; Ritschl, *ibidem*, 1866, I.; Wieseler, *ibidem*, 1867, IV.; Langen, in the *Quartalschrift*, 1863, III. — Chavannes, in the *Strassb. Revue*, V. 1; F. Bachasse, *L'hypothèse de M. Chavannes*, etc., Str. 1856; Tobler, *Die Evangelienfrage*, Zürich, 1858, p. 103 (to Corinth); Köstlin, *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1854, p. 388 (to Alexandria); Köhler, in the *Annalen de Theol.*, 1834, IV. (to Thessalonica, for Gentile Christians there!); Grimm, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1870, I., to Jamnia; Ewald, to Ravenna, etc. [Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr.*, 1858, p. 103; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, II. 492.] The Muratorian Canon (§ 310), Codex Bænerianus (§§ 328, 392), and Philastr., *De Hæresiis*, ch. 89, have seemed to some to favor a destination to Laodicea; but this conjecture is due to a confounding of this Epistle with the Epistle to the Laodiceans (§ 271). Cf. Stein, *Ev. Lucæ*, in the Appendix. — In so far as for the whole, or even for the properly epistolary part alone, a particular community of readers must be sought, Alexandria will doubtless commend itself to most, even aside from the personality of the conjectural author, which of itself points to the same conclusion.

The details of the older discussions respecting the author will be found under the history of the canon. It is well known that as early as the second century the names of Luke, Clement, and Barnabas, beside that of Paul, had appeared, showing that no definite tradition was in existence, and that both the analogies and differences in comparison with the certainly recognizable but much overestimated Pauline style had been fully weighed, both exegetically and theologically. Among the conjectures of modern times the most felicitous appears to us to be that of Luther, who was the first to refer it to Apollos, cf. 1 Cor. ii. iii., Acts xviii. 24 ff., although the reference to Barnabas also greatly commends itself; the latter, in particular, has in its favor the positive testimony of Tertullian, who evidently knew of no other, while the Paulinists mentioned in Alexandria had no basis but conjecture for their claims. — F. Spanheim, *Opp.*, II. 171 ff.; J. Hallet, in Peirce, *Paraphr.*, p. 1 ff.; C. A. Clewberg, *De auctore ep. ad Hebr.*, Abo, 1753; C. F. Schmid, *Super origine ep. ad Hebr.*, L. 1765; G. Bratt, *De auctore ep. ad Hebr.*, Gryph. 1806; G. W. Meyer, in Bertholdt's *Journal*, II. 225; A. Reville, *Gen.* 1817; J. P. Myrster, *Opp.*, p. 91 ff.; C. Ullmann, in the *Studien*, 1828, II.; 1829, II.; L. F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius, *De origine ep. ad Hebr.*, Jena, 1829; F. Vi-

dal, Gen. 1829 ; H. Olshausen, *Opp.*, p. 89 ff. ; H. L. Laharpe, *Essai sur l'authenticité de l'ép. aux Hebr.*, Toulouse, 1832 ; F. C. Gelpke, *Vindiciæ originis paulinæ ep. ad Hebr.*, Leyd. 1832 ; C. Jundt, *Examen critique sur l'auteur de l'ép. aux Hebr.*, Str. 1834 ; H. Monod, *L'ép. aux Hebr. n'est pas de S. Paul*, Strassb. 1838 ; G. E. Parrot, Toul. 1852.

[In favor of the Pauline authorship : Lewin, *St. Paul*, II. 832 ; *Bibl. Repos.*, 1832, p. 409 ; *Journ. of Sac. Lit.*, 1860, 102 ff., 193 ff. ; Robbins, in *Bib. Sac.*, 1861, p. 469 ; Stowe, *Origin and Hist. of the Books of the Bible*, p. 379 ; Pond, *Cong. Rev.*, Jan. 1868. Against it : Norton, in *Christ. Exam.*, 1827-29 ; Palfrey, *Relation betw. Judaism and Christianity*, p. 311 ; Tregelles, in *Horne's Introd.*, 10th and following editions, IV. 585 ; Conyb. and H., *St. Paul*, II. 491 ff. ; Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.*, 2d ed. p. 314 ; Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, p. 641 ; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 817. For a review of the evidence on both sides see J. H. Thayer in the *Bib. Sac.*, Oct. 1867.]

Recent critics (Ebrard, Thiersch, Maier, Guerike, Delitzsch, and others) are returning to the position of Origen (§ 311), not because it is the most natural one, but because none more so can be obtained. For a critical review of the recent discussions see Köstlin, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1854, p. 425 ff.

154. There is, moreover, something very interesting in the peculiar form in which the fundamental ideas of this theology are expressed ; hence it has in all ages called out a great number of imitators, most of them worthless. With great spiritual mastery the author raises his readers, bound down within the narrow limits of inherited Judaism, up to the free heights of the Pauline position, without causing them to recoil by too loud a shout of victory. Without giving countenance to any error, the well-known figures and familiar hopes are still found, and honor is still given to Moses in his house. The ancient period, with its memories and customs, is transformed into the living picture of a new age, revealed to faith ; the Sabbath rest on this side the Jordan, never fully won, symbolizes to the people of God the heights of a new mount of covenant, the Zion of the heavenly Jerusalem, where the high priest is even now bringing an everlasting offering into the sanctuary. Perhaps at the very time when the master hand of the unknown author was delineating and adorning this new and imperishable sanctuary the thunder cloud was already gathering which was to lay the old earthly one upon Moriah in ashes.

In favor of a later date (perhaps coming down to about 80) may be adduced the allusions to the first generation as having passed away, ii. 3, xiii. 7 ; perhaps also v. 12, x. 32 (xii. 23 ?) ; for an earlier, before the destruction of Jerusalem, the mention of the temple worship as still existing (ch. ix.) is not good. This (by no means a deceptive device in order to pass off the Epistle as Pauline, of which there is no trace ; just as little an evidence that the worship was actually soon reestablished) is explained by the purely theoretical and ideal standpoint of the author, who is arguing from the book of the Law (hence *σκηνή*), and not from the actual state of things. The destruction of the temple did not absolutely preclude such argumentation, since to the Jewish mind the Law was even then still in force. Everything is more easily explained, no doubt, upon the assumption of its actual existence. Only the mention of Timothy, xiii. 23, and perhaps also the use which Clement

makes of the Epistle, forbid our coming down too far. Cf. Köhler (§ 77), p. 194; Wieseler, *Chronol.*, p. 479; Köstlin, *l. c.*, 1854, p. 417 ff.

The ancient notion that the Epistle was translated from a Hebrew (Pau-line) original was never anything more than a makeshift of apologetics. J. S. Semler, *Quod græce Paulus scripserit ep. ad Hebr.*, 1761.

155. The nearness of this catastrophe and the bloody persecution of the Christians under Nero aroused in the souls, especially of former Jews, all the Messianic hopes which they had cherished from childhood up, and which for many had been the chief motive of their coming over to Christianity. The calamities of the war, the horrors of the executions, the uneasy whirl of political affairs, and more yet the restless looking forward to a future both feared and longed for, had brought about a general excitement among the Christians, which only those escaped who had accepted the more spiritual views of the Apostles who were alienated from Judaism. The rest looked with confidence for a great revolution, which was to begin with the purification of Jerusalem and the fall of Rome, and end with the return of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, the universal judgment, and the establishment of the kingdom, all of which, however, was to take place in the immediate future.

The two expectations, of a speedy and of a sudden transformation of things, mutually imply each other, and it is hard to say which of the two may have been the earlier, since the origin of both alike reaches back to the prophets. It cannot be denied that the older eschatological conceptions (which, by the way, belong to the first Christians as a whole, and are quite erroneously thought of as in any way peculiar to the Apocalypse of John, see my *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. 306 ff. 3d ed. 421 ff.) [E. tr. I. 362] were modified, first, externally, by their non-fulfillment at and by the destruction of Jerusalem, but also internally, by the prevailing drift of religious reflection upon the death of Jesus. Christian resignation, an article of faith in the earliest period (Acts xiv. 22), was left, a noble inheritance, from the first stage of the mind of the Church to the second, and the same *ὑπομονή* which had first meant the expectation of the Parousia (Rev. i. 9; iii. 10) became the expression for patience and steadfast faith in general.

156. The same hopes, but with the added power of prophetic fervor, were expressed by the author of the book which has come down to us under the name of the Apocalypse, and which is certainly a genuine product of the apostolic age and of the early Christian spirit. This book, mysterious or absurd to all who saw in it only the reflection of their own dreams, or whose cold, unpoetic nature could not transfer itself into a strange realm of thought, is everywhere clear and beautiful to those who are susceptible to that which swayed that age and was in accord with its spirit. It is the true but poetic representation of its hopes, the mirror of the coming of the Lord as it pictured itself to the eye of longing, impatient faith.

Beside this, far from intending to satisfy an idle curiosity by enigmatical revelations referring to far distant centuries, it has the noble purpose of reviving the courage of a church groaning under the axe of the executioner by promising, upon the word of former prophecies, the end of their sufferings and the beginning of the kingdom of Christ for the fourth year thence.

On this and the following sections cf. the more detailed statement in my *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. 313 ff. (3d ed. 429 ff.) [E. tr. I. 369] and the article *Joh. Apokalypse*, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, § 2, Vol. XXII.

Ἀποκάλυψις, properly the (future, glorious) revelation of Christ himself; only in later usage the prediction thereof.

The historical foreground of the book, aside from the letters, chh. ii., iii., is derived from vi. 9 ff., ch. vii. The perspective, however, is no very extensive one, i. 1, 3; xiii. 6 f., 10 f., 20; cf. ii. 5, 16; iii. 11; xi. 14. The fixed period of three and one half years (xi. 2 f.; xii. 14) is not an arbitrary one, but resulted necessarily from prophecy (Dan. xii. 7 ff.) as soon as the conviction was fixed that what had before been predicted (cf. Matth. xxiv. 15) was now to come to fulfillment.

Ideas of the Apocalypse are so widely different that a summary notice of the exegetical literature, mingling all together, would be inexpedient; cf. by way of introduction, the history of the book in Lücke's *Einleitung*. The lists in Walch's *Bibl. Theol.*, Pt. IV. may serve as a rich addition thereto. Lilienthal's *Exeg. Bibl.*, the essays by Stosch and Iken in the *Symbb. litt. Brem.*, I, II., and catalogues of modern private libraries; the mass of what has been printed on the Apocalypse of John has always been unknown to scholars, but circulates among the people.

General Introductions: R. Hurd and S. Halifax, *Authority, Date, Arrangement, Purpose, Style, and Method of the Apoc.* (in the Warburton Collection, I., II.) [Bp. Hurd's Works, Lond. 1811, Vol. V.]; Hartwig, *Apologie der Apok.*, Chemn. 1780 ff. 4 Pts.; *Reflexionen über die Offenb. Joh.* (*Quartalschr.*, 1826, IV.); H. E. Weijers, *De l. Apoc. argumento sententia et auctore*, Leyd. 1828; F. Lücke, *Einl. in die Offenb. Joh.*, Bonn, 1832 (2d ed. 1851 f. 2 vols.); C. Stern, *De questionibus quibusdam ad Appert.*, Br. 1846; B. Weiss, in the *Studien*, 1869, I.; C. Manchot, *Die Offenb. Joh.*, Brem. 1869; M. Krenkel, *Der Ap. Johannes*, B. 1871. [Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, 418, 603; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 825].

With regard to the interpretation itself, we make brief mention here of the following principal tendencies: (1.) The chiliastic, which stands nearest to the genius of the work. This, however, was soon abandoned, not to be revived until modern times, — now, it is true, in fantastic ways, and assuming for the work a range altogether foreign to the text, §§ 561, 584. (2.) The moral and spiritual, which arose at Alexandria, prevailed until the Reformation, and has again been taken up in our own times. Upon this interpretation the concrete basis of the pictures is lost altogether, and nothing remains but an allegory of practical religious significance, § 512. (3.) The historical, in various modifications: either (a) finding Church History mirrored in the book, with a polemic reference (to the Papacy), already current among the sects of the Middle Ages, but especially among the Protestants, and even now to a large extent in England and France, somewhat also in Germany (N. von Brunn, 1832 ff.; A. G. J. v. Brandt, 1845; H. J. Gräber, 1857); or (b) the political phases of history in their relation to the development of the kingdom of God, now usually including all history (Hengstenberg, 1849; Auferlen, 1854; J. P. Sabel, 1861, and others: cf. Baur in the *Jahrb.*, 1852, III., IV.; 1855, II.), but formerly applied within a more restricted range (Grotius, Bossuet, and others); or (c) taking account only of the

period immediately subsequent to the Jewish war, as is done, after others, especially by Herder, 1779, and Züllig, 1834. (4.) The idealistic, which did not, it is true, deny the eschatological element, but put it into an entirely modern setting, and resolved the second coming of Christ into a victory of Christianity; Eichhorn, 1791, and others. (5) The purely historical, which would maintain the complete correctness of the views of the early age, and interpret the book from them solely, without reference to those current among us; Ewald, 1828 and 1862; De Wette, 1848; F. Düsterdiek, 1859; Bleek, 1862; Volkmar, 1862; H. Kienlen (Fr.) 1870. — We may pass unmentioned the astronomical interpretation, *i. e.*, that which finds in the book only the worship of the sun (Wünsch, *Horus*, 1783; Dupuis, *Origine de tous les Cultus*, Vol. III.; J. A. de Luc, *Éclaircissements sur l'Apoc.*, 1832; Nork, etc.).

157. Leaving out of account the prologue and epilogue, which are easily separated, the apocalyptic panorama unrolls in clear order its successive scenes before the eye of the beholder. The future is written in a book with seven seals, which only Christ can open. Through his grace it is granted to the seer to look within it. The seals fall, and each one brings a grievous trial to believers for the period following. After the sixth they are themselves sealed with the name of God for a protection against all further danger. At the seventh appear seven angels with trumpets, who again announce, one after another, the previous plagues on the wicked world, which is still granted a last delay. After the sixth trumpet the people of God are sheltered in the sanctuary at Jerusalem and a purification of Israel is begun. The seventh trumpet brings the end: the description of the infernal powers, of Satan, of Antichrist, and of the false prophet; the graphic and precise announcement of their downfall; finally the pouring out of the seven bowls of the wrath of God, the last of which gives the signal for the threefold decisive battle. Rome falls by her returning antichristian emperor, he by the Messiah, the devil is chained in the abyss for a thousand years, during which the martyrs for the faith enjoy a foretaste of bliss. Then he is loosed once more, makes war upon the holy city, and is himself cast into the lake of fire. Then follows the resurrection, the general judgment, and eternal glory in the new city of God.

Thus the successiveness of all the scenes and events is expressly asserted, in opposition to the assumption often favored of a repeating parallelism. The seven seals, in so far as what they announce is distressful, correspond to the birth-throes of the Messianic age (Matth. xxiv. 8), the pains of which affect even the elect; the seven trumpets, on the other hand, introduce judgments already inflicted.

The key to the Apocalypse and the test of its interpretation is in the decipherment of the number 666 (ch. xiii. 18), which, after a thousand vain attempts (on which alone a long history might be written; cf. further Rösch, in the Würtemb. *Studien*, 1847; C. Clöter, *Auflösung der Zahl 666 A.*, 1860; Aberle, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1872, I.; B. Weiss in the *Studien*, 1869, I.; F. Märker, *ibid.*, 1868, IV.), was explained almost simultaneously by several since 1835, by ברון קסר, *i. e.*, Nero Cæsar. This interpre-

tation is supported moreover by sufficient testimony from the patristic apocalyptic literature, and even from profane writers ; cf. *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. 324 ff. (3d ed. 440 ff.) [E. tr. I. 378], and my review of De Wette's Commentary, *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1849, II. 1857 ; A. Réville, *Néron l'antéchrist* (*Revue*, XI. 1 ff.) ; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1869, IV. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 841 ff.]

The kingdom of a thousand years, and the double Parousia or two stages of the Messianic advent connected with it, is the only noteworthy eschatological dogma which is wholly peculiar to the Apocalypse. This is to be explained as the combination into one of two older Jewish theories, of a resurrection of the elect and of a general one, of a relatively long and of an absolutely endless duration of the kingdom. Otherwise no motive is given for the loosing of the devil.

On the hermeneutics of the Apocalypse may also be compared in particular : Wetstein, *Libelli*, p. 207 ff. ; Senler, *ibid.*, p. 217 ff. ; Corrodi's *Beiträge*, IX. 76 ; Schulthess, *Forschungen*, II. 369 ; Bleek, in the *Berlin Zeitschr.*, II. 240 ; Steudel, in Bengel's *Archiv*, VIII. 285 ; Baumgarten-Crusius, *Opp.*, p. 101 ff. ; Preiswerk, in *Morgenland*, III. 129 ; Gratz, in the *Neue Freib. Zeitschr.*, VII. 231 (all under restriction of the remarks made in § 156) ; but especially Baur in the essays cited in the same section ; M. Schneckenburger, *De falsa Neronis fama e rumore christiano orta*, Berne, 1846.

158. The author clothes his hopes in visions, after the manner of the later prophets, especially Daniel. All the details of his descriptions, all the colors of his pictures, he borrows from the ancient writers. His symbols and figures, as sacred portions of revelation, he takes from them bodily, adding but little of his own, and this seldom equally significant and striking. But he has the merit of originality in the combination of ideas elsewhere found scattered, of perfect unity in the construction of the whole, notwithstanding the astonishing diversity of the parts, and finally of a wonderful artistic sense in the symmetrical arrangement of the figures and in the gradual development of the scenes, whose measured sequence awakes the liveliest interest and keeps expectation intent to the end. The practical purpose of edification is nowhere plainly stated in words, but crops out everywhere in significant hints and pithy sayings, and is comprehended at the outset in the seven letters of the Lord as chief bishop to the churches of the province of Asia.

The plan, highly artistic and symmetrical throughout, is the first and surer criterion for a correct estimate of the imagery of the visions. The history of Hebrew prophecy furnishes a second, by showing how this style of writing arose and developed in the course of time, and finally became the prevailing one.

In each of the three seven-parted phases of development of the future (§ 157) the first four scenes taken together form a whole, and are not only more closely connected with one another by their contents, but are also in each case separated from the following by a special closing figure. The fifth and sixth scenes follow, isolated, and are regularly separated from the seventh by an intermediate act. Further subdivisions are made after the manner of the trilogy. Thus the seventh trumpet brings (1) the description of the three fiends, (2) the threefold prelude, and (3) the crisis in three battles, etc.

This plan refutes at once the exploded views of those who separate the Apocalypse into distinct parts (even independent of one another), or make one part of it to have been prophesied against Jerusalem, another against Rome. Rome and Jerusalem, with their respective fates, form only single scenes in the great world-drama.

The prologue includes not only the poetic and prophetic preface, but essentially also the practical application (set forth with the greatest genius and felicity), — the latter contained in the seven letters to the principal churches of proconsular Asia. Each letter consists alike of three parts, (a) an attestation in the name of Christ, whose titles are taken from ch. i.; (b) a warning according to the needs of each church; (c) a promise, the substance of which is derived from the description of the heavenly Jerusalem, ch. xxi. — On these letters and their purpose cf. vi. 9 ff.; xiii. 9, 10; xiv. 4 f., 12, 13; xvi. 15; xix. 9; xx. 6, etc. Formerly they were commonly considered as the types of successive future states of the church. Cf. Heinrichs, in the excursus to Vol. X. of Koppe's *N. T.*; A. C. v. Eldik-Thieme, *De VII. epp. apoc.* Leyd. 1827.

159. The circle of ideas from which alone a prophecy such as this in spirit and form could arise, is the well-known Jewish Christian, which found in the gospel chiefly the palpable fulfillment of glorious promises. Yet the imagination of the poet is occupied more in painting the wrathful judgments of God than in the portrayal of heavenly joys, in which later times were so inexhaustibly rich. To the delineation of the person of the Messiah, Old Testament psalmody, Jewish scholastic metaphysics, and Christian faith in redemption all contribute, the atonement being conceived in a very outward way, with especial stress laid upon strict asceticism. Taking the standpoint of the principles once established at Jerusalem, and regarding all that went beyond the liberty there accorded as of evil, the theology of this book claims the name of genuinely Jewish, and knows of no apostolicity but that of the twelve.

On the last point cf. ii. 9, iii. 9, vii. 5 ff., xxi. 14. — In the Christology and Soteriology, so far from there being material for comparison with the Fourth Gospel, there are more analogies to be found with Paul. With regard to the first, the purely Jewish reminiscences (ii. 27, v. 5, etc.) are of less importance than the definite coördination of Christ with God, with whom he shares names and titles (i. 11, 17; ii. 8; iii. 1; v. 6; xxii. 13; cf. with i. 5, 8; iv. 5; xxi. 6); while xix. 13 brings to mind Palestinian (not Philonian) metaphysics, and iii. 14 characterizes it as pre-trinitarian. A. Schneider, *Essai sur les idées de l'Apoc. touchant la personne de Christ*, Str. 1855; Lechler, *Ap. Zeitalter*, p. 197; S. Hoekstra, in the *Leidner Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 363 ff.; Baur, p. 207 ff. Weiss, p. 600 ff.

In the doctrine of redemption proper there are conceptions and figures that remind us of Paul, ἀπὸν (1 Cor. v. 7), ἀγοράζειν, δωρεάν, κλητοί, and many others, although the πίστις is essentially only the truth in confession (ii. 10, 13; iii. 8; xiii. 10; xiv. 12), and morality is summed up under the idea ἔργα, which is divided (ii. 19) into ἀγάπη = διακονία and πίστις = ὑπομονή. Recompense is therefore throughout according to works (ch. ii., iii. *passim*; xiv. 13). This conception (the books) and that of predestination (the book) stand over against each other unreconciled in xx. 12. The atonement is conceived under the figure of a washing in blood (i. 5; vii. 14, etc.); yet on

the whole it is evident that Jewish Christianity has already taken important steps toward overcoming the ancestral standpoint, which had at first been but slightly affected by the principles of the gospel.

There appears to be no sufficient ground for assuming a direct polemic relation of the Apocalypse to Paul; see *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 517 ff. (3d ed., I. 357 ff.) [E. tr. I. 307]; yet both in ii. 14, 20, and in xxi. 14 there are indications of a wholly different standpoint. Cf. in general Köstlin, *Joh. Lehrbegriff*, p. 482; Baur, *Drei ersten Jahrh.*, p. 75. The names of heretics (ch. ii., iii. *passim*, upon which opinions have always been divided; see the church historians) are throughout symbolic, and the heresies themselves are rather of a practical kind than forms of theoretical Gnosis. On the much discussed Nicolaitans in particular see the essays by E. R. Roth, Jena, 1679; J. W. Janus, Vit. 1723; P. Schyllberg, Ups. 1728; C. F. Reder, L. 1736; Mosheim, *Diss.*, I. 389; Münscher, in Gabler's *Journal*, XI.; Schulthess, *Theol. Nachr.*, 1828, II. 270, and many others.

160. As a poetical work this Apocalypse has all the beauties and all the faults of Oriental poetry. It knows neither the strictness of form of the Greek, nor the warm charm of the Romance poetry. It is the burning breath of the East that animates its figures; an exuberant imagination sacrifices beauty to boldness and bids defiance to all relations; the human and attractive gives place to the gigantic and repulsive. A flood of metaphors, a continual personification of abstract ideas, gives to these strange creations a grotesque, horrible life, like a fantastic resurrection scene. There is no clear and intelligible description; the outlines of the figures are indistinct in spite of the coarseness of the material in which they are clothed, and all attempts to transfer them by the help of the brush from the realm of mental conception, in which alone they must remain, into that of physical vision, have never produced anything but grotesque monstrosities.

Oriental symbolism is not a copy of nature, inasmuch as it does not engage the mind and delight the sense, but is an attempt to aid the understanding in a sphere otherwise too exacting for it. Its subject is the abstract; the childhood age of philosophy and religion might, though not without danger, venture to transmute its figures, spoken from words into life, into forms for the eye; in our age it is insipid, and a most conclusive proof of misapprehension. Cf. A. F. Didot, *Des apocalypses figurées manuscrites et xylographiques*, P. 1870.

It is also essential to the just estimation of the book æsthetically to bear in mind the fact that nearly all the figures, especially the more beautiful and significant, are borrowed from the O. T. (chiefly from the later prophets, Ezekiel, Zachariah, Daniel), while those peculiar to the author are for the most part more obscure and less appropriate. Cf. A. Niemeyer, *De apoc. libro e V. T. composito*, Halle, s. a.

It is not strange that the Apocalypse has called forth poetic imitations; C. C. L. v. Pfeil, *Apok. Lieder*, Memm. 1749; J. C. Lavater, *Jesus Messias*, Z. 1780; J. C. Schreiber, *Gemälde d. Zukunft*, etc., Zeitz, 1802; F. Münster, *Die Offenb. Joh. metrisch übersetzt*, 2d ed., Kop. 1806; older translations cited in his work, p. 101 ff.

161. It is quite certain that the work, as we now have it,

was written just two years before the destruction of Jerusalem, while Galba occupied the throne of the Cæsars. The author calls himself John, certainly not assuming a false name, and appears to have been not only well known but of consequence in the churches of the province of Asia, of which Ephesus was the metropolis. Tradition, having, however, much of a fabulous character mingled with it, finds in him the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. Nothing prevents our considering this tradition well-founded, nothing compels us to that opinion. What is related of him in the gospel history and the Epistles of Paul appears to speak much more in favor of than against it. But to the philologist and investigator of the religious history of the early Christian churches and their teachers, it is much more certain that this disciple, if he wrote the book of the Logos manifest in the flesh and rejected by the world, was not also the writer of the Apocalypse.

The time of composition (Köhler, *Abfassungs-Zeit*, p. 218 ; Harenberg, in the introduction to Ulrich's Commentary on the Apocalypse), probably before the destruction of Jerusalem, from xi. 1 ff., may be more closely fixed by xvii. 10. The reigning sovereign of the seven-hilled city is the sixth ; in the three and one half years remaining there is only a short space of time for a seventh and last ; then comes the end of the kingdom with the eighth, who, however, has been before (therefore one of the first five). Cf. what was said on xiii. 18 in § 157. The first datum can only be set aside by the denial of the concrete sense of the prophecy, the latter only by an arbitrary enumeration of the line of emperors. If some prefer to think of Vespasian rather than of Galba because the three immediate predecessors of the first had too short a reign, this argument is entirely inapplicable to Galba, who was recognized in the East. Since the three and one half years were fixed at the outset the shortness of the reigns of the last two emperors necessarily followed.

Opinions respecting the apostolic composition as related to canonicity, in the earliest times very favorable, later begin to waver, and for the most part, from that time to this, upon subjective theological grounds (see in general under history of the Canon). About 260 A. D. Dionysius of Alexandria propounded the hypothesis of a second John, a presbyter of the Ephesian church. Cf. on this Jachmann and Wieseler in the *Kieler Mittheilungen*, II. 4 ; III. 4 ; W. Grimm, in the Halle *Encyclopädie*, § 2, XXII., 217 ; Gass, in Herzog's *Encykl.* ; Riggenbach and Steitz, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1868, II. ; 1869, I. ; and below, § 229.

On the testimony of the ancients : H. C. M. Rettig, *Das erweislich älteste Zeit für die Apok.*, L. 1829 ; idem, in the *Studien*, 1831, IV. ; F. A. Knittel, *Beiträge zur Kritik über d. Offenb. Joh.*, Brg. 1773 ; Oeder, *Conj.*, p. 214 ff. ; H. A. C. Hävernick, *Lucubrationes crit. ad Apoc.*, Reg. 1842 ; J. G. Körner, *De auctoritate Apoc. ab Alogis impugnata*, L. 1751 ; M. Merkel, *Aufkl. der Streitigkeiten über die Apoc.*, L. 1782.

In modern times, after unimportant skirmishes with the Deists, etc. (G. Schrödter, *De auct. canonica Apoc.*, Rost. 1709 ; Abauzit, *Discours hist. sur l'Apoc.*, Œuvres, I. 247 [E. tr. Lond. 1774] ; Harenberg, against Voltaire, in the *Bibl. Brem. nova*, VI. 2), the battle was begun in earnest by Semler, against whom J. F. Reuss, *De auctore Apoc.*, Tüb. 1767 ; (G. L. Oeder) *Christl. freie Unters. über die sog. Offenb. Joh.*, Halle, 1769 ; C. F. Schmid,

Die Offenb. Joh. ein echtes göttliches Buch, L. 1771 ; F. A. Stroth, *Freimüthige Unterss.*, etc., 1771 ; J. F. Reuss, *Vertheidigung der Offenb. Joh.*, L. 1772 ; Semler's answer in his *Abhandl. vom Canon*, I. 173 ; J. G. Böhmer, *Von der Göttlichkeit der Offenb. Joh.*, 1772 ; Semler, *Neue Unterss.*, Halle, 1776 ; Hartwig (§ 156), Pt. I. ; Semler's *Briefe*, II., III. ; Hartwig, Pt. III. ; Lessing's *Nachlass.*, p. 105 ; D. H. Hering, *Ueber den bisherigen Streit*, etc., Br. 1783 ; G. C. Storr, *Neue Apologie der Offenb. Joh.*, Tüb. 1783 ; M. Merkel, *Beweis dass die Offenb. Joh. untergeschoben*, L. 1785. Internal arguments against the genuineness, etc., in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, III. 571 ; Paulus, *Selecta capp.*, p. 1 ; (C. L. Paalzow) *Einkl. in die Gesch. des Kanons*, Halle, 1794.

H. H. Donker-Curtius, *De Apoc. ab indole, doctrina, et scribendi genere Joh. ap. non abhorrente*, Traj. 1799 ; J. F. Kleuker, *Ursprung und Zweck der Offenb. Joh.*, 1800 ; (Paulus) *De origine Apoc. Joannæ obs.* misc., Jena, 1800 ; C. W. Stein, in Winer's *Journal*, V. 20 ; H. E. F. Gürke, *Die Hypothese vom Presbyter Johannes als Verfasser der Offenb.*, etc., Halle, 1831 ; E. W. Kolthoff, *Apocalypsis Joanni ap. vindicata*, Hfn. 1834 ; J. P. Lange, in *Tholuck's Anzeiger*, 1838, No. 28 ; C. Dannemann, *Wer ist Verfasser der Offenb. Joh.* ? Hann. 1841 ; Schnitzer, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1842, II., III., IV. ; E. Zeller, *ibid.*, IV. ; F. Hitzig, *Joh. Marcus, oder wer hat die Offenb. verfasst* ? Z. 1843 ; E. Vieu, *Authenticité de l'Apocalypse*, Mont. 1846 ; Bleek, *Beitr. zur Ev. Kritik*, p. 182 ; J. Bucher, in the *Freib. Zeitschr.*, 1849, I. ; Ewald, *Jahrb.*, V. 179 ; E. Böhmer, *Verfasser und Abfassungszeit der joh. Apoc.*, H. 1855 ; A. Niermeyer, *Verhandeling over de Echtheid der joh. Schriften*, Haag, 1852 ; W. H. Krijt, *De libro Apoc.*, Traj. 1861 ; G. Meyer, in the *Revue théol. de Paris*, 1870, p. 267 ff., and all the modern Introductions and Commentaries. [G. R. Noyes, *The Apoc. Analyzed and Explained*, in the *Christ. Examiner*, May, 1860 ; also in the *Journ. of Sac. Lit.*, Oct. 1860 ; *The Apocalypse*, in the *Westm. Rev.*, Oct. 1861 ; S. Davidson, *Apoc. of St. John*, in the *National Rev.*, Apr. 1864 ; substantially the same, his article in Kitto's *Cyclop.* ; R. D. C. Robbins, *Author of the Apoc.*, in the *Bib. Sac.*, Apr. and July, 1864 ; A. Sabatier, article *Apocalypse* in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*, I. 396 ff. ; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 825 ff.]

[A few of the more recent, especially English, Commentaries : Luthardt, 1861 ; Hoffmann, 1862 ; J. L. Fuller, 1874 ; Lange, 1871, E. tr. 1874 ; Kliefoth, 1874 ; Godet, in his *Studies in the N. T.*, E. tr. Lond. 1876 ; M. Stuart, Andover, 1845, 2 vols., new ed. 1864 ; E. H. Elliott, *Horæ Apocalyptice*, 5th ed. Lond. 1862, 4 vols. ; R. C. Trench, *Com. on the Epp. to the Seven Churches*, 2d ed. 1861 ; Cowles, N. Y. 1871 ; Enoch Pond, *The Seals opened*, Portland, 1871 ; cf. T. W. Chambers, *The Scope of the Apocalypse*, N. Y. 1881.]

It must be admitted that even in the most recent times the decision of the question as to the apostolic genuineness of the Apocalypse has by both sides been made to depend upon a previously formed judgment as to the Fourth Gospel. And yet the impossibility that the two books should have come from one source seems to be becoming more and more plain, with increasing knowledge of the apostolic theology. The date of the Apocalypse is so late that a subsequent complete transformation of religious views on the part of its author (A. Réville, *Jean le prophète et Jean l'Évangéliste*, in the *Strassb. Revue*, IX., whereby, moreover, the genuineness of the contents of the discourses of Jesus would be brought into the greatest danger (§ 220, cf. Hase, *Tüb. Schule*, p. 26 ff.), seems inconceivable. (Cf. the theological parallels in the *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 476 ; 3d ed. 564 ff.) The book itself gives no certain testimony. The exile of the Apostle John to Patmos (Cellarius, *Diss.*, p. 412 ; V. d. Honert, *Diss. apoc.*, p. 85 ; W. A. Schwollmann, *De Joannis in Patmo exilio*, H. 1757) is itself only a fable derived from a false interpretation of i. 9 (in which very passage *μαρτύριον* is not martyrdom but preaching). The evidence to be derived from xxi. 14 might perhaps be

neutralized by Mk. x. 35 ff. (?) Every attempt to connect the Apocalypse more closely with the Gospel will always lead to an arbitrary misunderstanding of the former work, and all unprejudiced interpretation of it will awaken the feeling that it does not do full justice to the spirit of Jesus and to the destiny of the church, unless one has found for himself a conception of them which is surpassed by any ideal not springing from Judaism. The proper gospel element (Mt. xxiv. 14; cf. Rom. xi. 25) is not prominent, and the whole spirit of the book is opposed to Mk. xiii. 32.

In view of the above considerations and of the peculiar character of the subject, no decisive weight can be ascribed to the difference of language, but only willful prejudice can explain it away altogether. Cf. Winer, above, § 47.

162. This book of Revelation, which, so far as we know, is the only imitation in the apostolic literature of ancient Hebrew prophecy, represents also, to those who would compare externally the sacred writings of the Church with those of the Synagogue, the whole rich class of poetic writings. In fact there is no sufficient evidence of anything else whatever which could rightly be called an early Christian poem, either in thought or form. Undoubtedly from the beginning of the Church edification by song was a necessity and a custom; Gentiles and Jews alike were familiar with it from their ancestral worship; the latter brought with them when they entered the church both the material for the songs and the melodies. But that in addition to the sacred psalms of David, or others already in use among the Jews, there were in existence or in liturgical use so early new songs composed for the purpose by members of the church, although in itself probable, cannot be proved from the doubtful traces which have been adduced as evidence therefor.

In view of the general technical use at that time of *ψαλμοὶ* for the so-called Davidic songs it is quite inconceivable that the word should occur in a wider sense. Passages like Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16, 1 Cor. xiv. 26 are therefore to be explained in accordance with Acts i. 20, Lk. xxiv. 44. *ψάλλειν* in Eph. l. c., Ja. v. 13 may without difficulty be connected with these, and even if it must refer to something else in 1 Cor. xiv. 15, yet, in accordance with a right understanding of the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, it is surely not to formal lyric poems.

The *ὑμνοὶ* (Eph. and Col. ll. cc.) are certainly not of Gentile Christian origin on account of their name, for, aside from the previous Hellenistic use of the word, no one will be able to find in Mt. xxvi. 30, Mk. xiv. 26, Acts xvi. 25, anything else than Jewish, possibly Hebrew, songs. And if they must be distinguished from the Psalms, the liturgy of the synagogues would certainly furnish the possibility of doing so. *ᾠδή* also (*ibid.*) is an O. T. word, and the combination of the three designations is most naturally explained from the well-known distinction between different classes of Psalms, already current in the Hebrew and Greek superscriptions. Otherwise Rudelbach in his *Zeitschrift*, 1855, p. 629 ff.

The supposed traces of Christian hymns in Eph. iv. 9, v. 14 (§ 39), 1 Tim. iii. 1, 16, 2 Tim. ii. 11 f., Acts iv. 24 ff. have been placed in the proper light by modern expositors. The hymns in the Apocalypse are certainly not quotations from a hymn book, but integral parts of the work itself; Ja. i. 17 is metrical by accident, and to attempt to find in Mt. xi. 25 f., Jn. xvii. 14 ff.

hymns of Jesus is pure nonsense. Finally, Lk. i. 46, ii. 14, 29, are only hymns because the church has made them so, although it is not to be denied that the composition of these passages, both in form and contents, remind us of the O. T. lyric poetry.

The difficulty which we feel in thinking of a musical performance of the awkward Greek version of the Psalms is no argument for placing in its stead songs with classic rhythm, the less since this reason affects in almost equal measure the certainly rhythmical Hebrew, of which musical performance is proved.

Cf. Grotius, Michaelis, Heumann, on the first mentioned passages; Bähr on Col. l. c.; Harless and others on Eph. l. c.; Paulus in his *Memor.*, I. 109; Münter, *Offenb. Joh.*, p. 17; Augusti, *Handb.*, II. 112 f.; and in general L. Jaquet, *Le chant sacré de la primitive église*, Gen. 1835; C. Buhl, *Der Kirchengesang in der griechischen Kirche*, in the *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1848, p. 179 ff.; where also are collected the facts relating to the post-apostolic age; on the apostolic age in particular, J. C. Schauer, *Spuren urchristl. Hymnen im N. T.* (Berlin. deutsche Zeitschr. für christ. Wissenschaft, 1850, No. 48). — Older: C. S. Schurzfleisch, *De hymnis eccl. vet.*, Vit. 1685; C. M. Pfaff, *De recta theol. hymnodicæ conformatione*, Tüb. 1731; J. G. Walch, *De hymnis eccl. apost.*, Jena, 1737; C. J. Beck, *De hymnis primi cætus chr.*, Numb. 1760; J. Z. Hilliger, *De psalmorum hymnorum et odarum sacr. discrimine*, Vit. 1720; Deyling, *Obss.*, III. 430.

163. Beside this didactic literature, thus far described, there arose also, at about the same period, a certain number of narrative writings which told the story of the life and death of Jesus, and in general related the events which had accompanied the beginnings of Christianity. As the didactic by preaching, so the historical literature of the Christians by tradition, reaches back to the first ages of the church. But its history is much more obscure than that of the other branch. It is impossible to bring it to a generally satisfactory conclusion, on account partly of the lack of uncorrupted and original documents, partly of the means of fixing the date of those extant and of placing them in correct mutual relations. Most of what has been said and written upon the subject up to the present time has tended rather to increase difficulties than to do away with them, both through unfounded assumptions, and through the neglect of facts actually given.

A thorough and detailed history of modern investigations in the historic literature of the apostolic age does not lie within the scope of this work, nor yet has it been given connectedly anywhere else. Still in most modern so-called Introductions the literary material is at least summarily described. Particularly worth reading, to fill out this gap, is the introduction to F. C. Baur's *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evv.*, Tüb. 1847. Cf. also Gieseler, *Entstehung der Evv.*, p. 53 ff., and most of the critical monographs mentioned in the following sections; the most recent combinations are summarily collected by Ritschl, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1851, IV.; Hilgenfeld, *ibid.*, 1857, III., IV.; *idem*, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1861 f.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Die syn. Evv.*, 1863; C. F. Ranke, *De libris hist. N. T.*, B. 1855; C. H. Weisse, *Die Ev.-Frage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium*, L. 1856; *Die Ev.-Frage im allgem. und die Joh.-Frage insbes.*, Z. 1858; Aberle, *Ueber die Epochen der N. T. Geschichtschreibung*, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1863, I.;

O. Aekermann, *Die Ev.-Kritik, Uebersicht über ihre Entwicklung und ihren gegenwärtigen Stand*, Zw. 1866. [For a very full catalogue of the literature upon the Gospels see supplement to article *Gospels* in *Smith's Dict. Bibl.*; also Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 575 ff.].

J. F. Kleuker, *Ueber den Ursprung und Zweck der vier Evv. und der Apostelgesch. (Echtheit des N. T., Part II.) ; Bemerkungen über den Ursprung der vier Evv. und der Apostelgesch. (Stäudlin's Beiträge, Part V.)*, in reply to Eckermann, *Wahrscheinliche Entstehung der vier Evv. und der Apostelgesch. (Beiträge, V. 2)*. For more special works on the first three Gospels see § 171 ff.

Here also may be mentioned some other more comprehensive works which treat, for critical and apologetic purposes, most of the questions here involved: H. Olshausen, *Die Echtheit der vier kanonischen Evv. aus der Gesch. der zwei ersten Jahrh. erwiesen*, Kön. 1823; J. P. Lange, *Die Authentie der vier Evv.*, in the *Studien*, 1839, I.

Quite peculiar to modern times are the brilliant investigations which have been undertaken as preliminary to the scientific presentation of the life of Jesus, given in greater or less detail in most of the following works: e. g., Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, Pt. I., and in the *Giess. Jahrb.*, VI.; Ebrard, *Kritik der ev. Gesch.*, Pt. II.; Thiersch, *Hist. Standpunkt für die Kritik*, p. 75 ff.; Ammon, Ewald, Bunsen, Keim, etc. [esp. B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, B. 1882]. Cf. also Zeller, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1846, II.; Colani, *Les évangiles considérés comme documens historiques*, in the *Strassb. Revue*, I., II.; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1863, III.; Wittichen, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1866, III.; also: F. A. Krummacher, *Geist und Form der ev. Geschichte*, L. 1805; L. A. Sabatier, *Essai sur les sources de la vie de Jésus*, Paris, 1866; M. Schwalb, *Christus und die Evv.*, Brem. 1872.

164. This historical literature is connected with the reminiscences which the Apostles collected after their separation from their Master, and which served alike to keep fresh his memory in their own hearts and to confirm to others their instructions as to his person. The necessity for such an intellectual task resulted, on the one side, from the deep impression that had been made upon them by his instruction, and yet more by his personal appearance, upon which was based at the same time a most eager expectation of his return and a deep rooted awe of the mystery of his person; on the other side, from their very isolated, difficult position in the world, such that only in this recollection could they find strength to persevere in their labor. In this fact, that from the death of Jesus on, without interruption, his words and deeds were kept in living recollection by many, both for their own strengthening and for the winning over of new members, consists the chief guarantee for that which has been handed down, at least so far as its external permanence is concerned; for the spirit which breathes in it scarcely needs such testimony, but confirms itself even to-day by its own power.

Moreover, there is direct historic proof for this more psychological conception of the state of the case. The idea that all the knowledge, thought, and teaching of the Apostles is in its foundation essentially a recollection, something received to be given again (*ἀνάμνησις, μνημονεύειν, παράδοσις*, etc.),

appears very frequently ; cf. (in addition to the following section) Jn. ii. 22 ; xii. 16 ; xiv. 26 ; xv. 20 ; xvi. 4 ; Lk. xxii. 19 ; xxiv. 6 ; Acts xi. 16 ; 1 Cor. xi. 23 ; xv. 3, etc. ; especially also Lk. i. 2.

165. They repeated in particular those events which marked the most extraordinary junctures in his life, together with those with which were connected the most noteworthy discourses, especially those utterances whose sententious brevity, striking expression, and popular clearness, best fitted them to be retained and transmitted. What came before his public appearance lay for the most part without the range of their conversation and instruction. But more important still is the fact that the origin here assigned to the later written accounts of the life of Jesus explains at the same time their peculiar character, consisting as they do chiefly of a series of separate events and utterances, very loosely put together, neither following the order of time nor noting dates. For the anecdotic and fragmentary style, which, by the simplest association of ideas, frequently puts together things which historically lie far apart, certainly stands in close and essential connection with an oral tradition arising out of such necessities.

One might be tempted to try to pick out from our extant Gospels the portions (events and sayings) which must have been from the beginning most frequently and freely repeated ; so very much are certain passages distinguished above others for their striking distinctness and uniformity. And this involuntary feeling may have been the reason that attempts have been made to explain these Gospels and their relationship from the nature and operation of oral tradition alone. But we certainly should not give ourselves over to this impression too hastily and unreservedly. For it is a noteworthy circumstance that several passages which bear the aforesaid character in the highest degree occur in but a single Gospel (for example, the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son, and many pithy statements of Christian morality), while others, which would certainly be among those oftenest repeated, as the story of the passion, appear quite uncertain in their details.

166. At a time when many of the eye-witnesses were still living, and when the more extended circle in which the Christian society was later developed had not as yet endangered the purity of tradition, no necessity could have been felt of putting these reminiscences in a fixed written form. Yet the frequent repetition of many facts and narratives may have given to the history of Jesus a certain character of fixedness, while not limiting the individual in his choice of the form under which he would relate it. For the particular characteristics or interests of the narrator might still have wide liberty in the setting of the story ; there might be great variety in the relative richness of the subject matter ; now the miracle, now the teaching, might receive the more attention ; certain striking words in Jesus' utterances, certain leading facts, might by turns obscure

others or by their inner relationship preserve them from oblivion.

Most of what is here said needs no proof. Our extant Gospels, compared among themselves, afford well-known examples. For the fact last alleged we might refer to many a sentence which now appears obscure in its immediate connection, but which was evidently associated with another on account of some analogy and by this means was at once preserved and perhaps placed in an inappropriate light; *e. g.*, Mt. xviii. 1 ff.; Lk. v. 39; xi. 24 ff., 33, 34; xvi. 10 ff.; Mk. ix. 49 f., and many others. It is well-known how whole groups of such analogous sentences have been formed: Lk. ix. 57 ff.; Mt. xiii. 44 ff.; cf. § 192.

167. That this was actually the most ancient method of preserving and disseminating the gospel history is evident also from the circumstance that it continued to be the most generally used one, not only in the centuries immediately following the death of Jesus, but also long after, in addition to the written accounts. Indeed, it has never gone wholly out of use, and without it the great majority of Christians never would have known anything of the Saviour and his deeds and life. The richness of this tradition must not be measured by the remains of it preserved in writing. These by no means exhaust the material set in circulation by the disciples; many a fragment of their narratives, especially utterances of the Master, has been preserved in later books and later authors. True, the spoil thus gained seems small in comparison with what has been otherwise preserved, but as long as the possibility of enrichment remains open at all, nothing should be despised, provided only it may be considered genuine.

The most immediate proof of the greater extent of tradition, and one conclusive even in the field of theology, is the gaps in our canonical Gospels, each one of which can be supplemented or extended from each of the others, and must therefore be regarded as a mere fragment of the whole body of material. Express testimony is borne to this fact in Jn. xx. 30; xxi. 25. Contributions to the filling up of these gaps, but quite unimportant, in part only variations from the written form of a discourse, are furnished, aside from Acts xx. 35, by some patristic citations from lost gospels (§ 197 ff.), some additions in manuscripts of our extant Gospels (§ 241), and the writings of the early Church Fathers, especially Clement and Origen, but in particular by several spurious works of the second century, upon whose contributions, however, suspicion is perhaps cast in exact proportion as evidence is obtained of their real date.

There is a collection of such *dicta Christi ἀπαφα* in Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. N. T.*, I. 321 ff.; Grabe, *Spicil. patrum et hæret.*, I. 12 ff.; J. G. Körner, *De sermonibus Christi ἀπαφαις*, L. 1776; H. H. Cludius, in Henke's *Museum*, II. 352; F. Klöpfer, in the *Kieler Mittheilungen*, II. 4, p. 117 ff. Cf. also Schmidt's *Bibl.*, VIII. 19 ff., and the appendices to Hess's *Leben Jesu*, II. 553 ff.

168. Before the gospel tradition was fixed and preserved in written form it must have lost much of its original definite-

ness. The discourses of Jesus were separated from the narrative of the circumstances which had given rise to them; or, conversely, the latter, without the inspiration of the former, became mere anecdotes. Isolated utterances having a certain similarity were easily connected, and those really belonging together were separated, in either case causing a loss of light and force. The events, destitute of all specifications of place or time, soon resisted all chronological skill. Names of persons who must have been well-known to the disciples and who bore part in the history escaped the memories of those to whom they were unknown. In a word, the characteristic of accuracy, which belongs to tradition as long as it is based upon immediate knowledge of the facts, was more and more effaced. That which was preserved, with some exceptions, was less vivid, and much was wholly lost, or gave rise to strange misunderstandings.

Many examples are furnished by our Gospels, compared among themselves (§§ 166, 192), of how, in spite of painstaking care, the material handed down by tradition is liable to be arranged neither in chronological order nor in accordance with any concrete underlying scheme. This is shown, among other passages, by Lk. ix. 51 ff. — xviii. 14, which is usually called an account of a tour (§ 206), and in which whole collections of disconnected fragments of discourses occur.

Names of persons are wholly lost, *e. g.*, Mk. ii. 14, v. 22, x. 46, xv. 21, 40, Lk. viii. 3, xxiv. 10, Jn. xviii. 10 compared with their respective parallel passages; or they vary and become uncertain (§ 170); just so of places, Jn. iii. 23; Mt. viii. 28, and parallel passages, xxvi. 36, cf. with Lk.; Lk. x. 38. Gethsemane is only mentioned in Matthew and Mark. — Mt. xxiii. 37, Lk. xiii. 34 presuppose a more frequent presence of Jesus at Jerusalem, of which the tradition lying at the foundation of the two Gospels knew nothing more. Cf. also, with respect to dates, Jn. ii. 14 ff. with Mt. xxi. 12 ff.

Numbers vary: cf. Mt. viii. 28 with Lk. viii. 27; Mt. xx. 30 with Lk. xviii. 35; Mt. xxi. 2 with Mk. xi. 2; Mt. xxvi. 34 with Mk. xiv. 30; Mk. xv. 25 with Jn. xix. 14.

Especially instructive on all these points is an accurate synopsis of the narratives of the passion. Cf. Stirn, *Synopt. Bearbeitung der Leidensgeschichte*, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, XIII., also separately, 1841.

169. But in proportion as this impoverishment of the material of tradition increased and became perceptible the necessity of taking measures to preserve it became more pressing, — a necessity at first rather of genuinely pious sentiment than of mere wonder-loving curiosity. This soon had its effect, and in opposite ways, upon the material of tradition. Doubtless only generally known facts received more fixed forms; particular narratives, often repeated, were embellished with new features and made more intelligible; places and persons were named or associated on insufficient grounds, dates were arranged by conjecture; many utterances of Jesus acquired through reflective interpretation or later experiences a

more limited sense, and this in turn exerted an influence on their verbal setting. The same event, the same saying, might be handed down in different forms, and finally come to be regarded as two distinct events; perhaps also different events were combined into one, each component contributing to the whole the elements peculiar to itself.

The course of tradition here described can be established wherever we are able to observe it through long periods, particularly, therefore, in the field of the sacred history of the O. and N. T., when we take into account uncanonical sources. But it also appears without the aid of the latter. The N. T. affords numerous examples of the transmission by tradition of the legends of Hebrew antiquity (Mt. i. 5; xxiii. 31; Lk. iv. 25; Acts vii. *passim*; xiii. 21; 1 Cor. x. 4; Gal. iii. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 8; Hebr. xi. *passim*; xii. 16; 1 Pet. iii. 19; Jude 9, etc.; cf. G. Hickel, *Les histoires de l'A. T. dans le Nouveau*, Str. 1845), and the official or established church faith of a similar transmission of the narratives of the Gospels and Acts (§ 242). (Those who entertain the idea that the Gospel of Mark is a compilation from Matthew and Luke, or is otherwise directly dependent upon one of them, must necessarily admit that the pen of the author has colored the history.)

No further proof is needed that the chronological formulas in the Synoptic Gospels can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as editorial attempts (cf. for example Lk. ix. 51, 57, x. 38, xii. 22, xvii. 11, and §§ 193, 206). Well-known examples of reduplicated accounts or errors of other kinds brought about by the obscuring agency of subordinate circumstances are the double feeding of the multitude, Mk. vi. 34 ff., viii. 1 ff. (Mt. xiv. 14 ff. and xv. 32 ff.); the various recensions of the narrative of the anointing, Mk. xiv. 3 (Mt. xxvi. 6), Lk. vii. 36, Jn. xii. 2; probably the introduction of the name of Matthew into the narrative in Mt. ix. 9; the two asses at the entry into Jerusalem (from a misunderstanding of Zech. ix. 9), Mt. xxi. 1 ff.; possibly the designation of the amount of thirty pieces of silver in Mt. xxvi. 14 alone, from Zech. xi. 13.

Discourses take shape from later interpretation and later points of view: Mt. xii. 40; probably also xiii. 12 ff., cf. parallel passages; Lk. xxi. 20, cf. Mt. xxiv. 15. — The parable in Lk. xix. 12 ff., cf. Mt. xxv. 14 ff., appears to have arisen from two which originally did not belong together.

170. From the nature of the case, the diminution and corruption of gospel tradition above described reached its final limit, as to the material which had been preserved so long, as soon as it was fixed in written records. For although individuals might still forget much, the Church had the treasure preserved in the writings for her guidance. But it was otherwise with the accretions spoken of. These were not at all connected with the written documents, and might either supplement them by additions from authentic sources or disfigure them by embellishments and other corruptions. Moreover history shows that at no time did the existence of generally received written accounts oppose an effective barrier to the turbid stream of oral tradition.

On the latter point cf. § 242 and the history of the apocryphal gospels.

The letter of Scripture may even have become a cause of farther transformation of the historical material, as soon as the comparison of different

accounts and the theological principle of the canon began to work together. Thus, for example, the names of Lebbæus, Thaddeus, and Judas of James were combined into one person (see Schulthess, *Symbb. Crit.*, I. 142; Ed. Reuss, Art. *Judas Lebbæus*, in the Hall. *Encykl.*, II. 26); also Matthew and Levi (see Hasæus and Biel, in the *Bibl. brem.*, V. 475; VI. 1038; J. F. Frisch, *De Levi et Matth. non confund.*, 1746); Alphæus and Clopas (see the expositors on Jn. xix. 25); Nathanael and Bartholomew (see on Jn. i. 45; J. N. Nahr, *Nathanael Bartholomæus*, L. 1740; not to speak of the various subtle conjectures in regard to the person of the first; H. Späth, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1868, II., III.; an anonymous writer, *ibidem*, 1873, I.); the relationship of particular Apostles to Jesus differently apprehended (§ 56); the death of Judas arbitrarily determined (literature in Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 110); not to mention numberless harmonistic attempts which belong in part to the traditional view.

A highly unique example of further corruption since and in spite of the written records, which however can only be explained on the supposition of deliberate purpose, is the disappearance of the true name of Barabbas, which Tischendorf was first to restore to the text (Mt. xxvii. 16, 17).

171. As has been already said, no part of this history is enveloped in deeper obscurity than that now under consideration. But few investigators have attained the happy conviction that they have solved the problem, and these few are far from being agreed among themselves. We, who do not share in this conviction, have no right to blame the boldness of our predecessors. The importance of the subject, our opinion that it would as yet be a delusion should any one imagine himself to have brought the matter to a conclusion, and the certainty that the perception of an error always helps on the truth, makes it our duty in our presentation of the subject to adopt, to a greater extent than we should otherwise do, opinions which do not commend themselves to us, so far, that is to say, as this can be done without doing violence to the method generally followed in this book. The problem to be solved engaged the attention of readers of the Bible even in ancient times, but it is not until recently that it has received great elucidation at the hands of unprejudiced investigators.

Up to the end of the last century the investigation of the subject was not so much purely historical, in pursuit of the facts of the literary history of the writings, as apologetic and harmonistic; that is to say, the problem which it proposed to itself was to explain the relation of the (three or four) extant Gospels to one another, in a manner favorable to the interests of the faith. Consequently, not only were all facts lying aside from this purpose left untouched, but the investigation itself was for the most part based upon theological presuppositions for which Augustine (*De consensu evangelistarum*) had already paved the way, the strict Protestant theory of inspiration having shut the door against all others.

It is moreover noteworthy that in the field of the O. T. literature also it is the historical writings regarding whose origin and history science has not until lately come to acknowledge her own crude and prejudiced judgments, and which are now assigned to a proportionately much later time and recognized as products of a more developed literary activity. [For the au-

thor's views upon this matter see his lately issued *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, 1882.]

In view of the increasing variety of the hypotheses proposed for the solution of the problem it is difficult and indeed unnecessary to give an independent classification of them with their literature. Sufficiently full and satisfactory summaries are to be found in most of the so-called Introductions, and particularly in the copious special works to be hereafter cited.

172. From what has already been said of the course of oral tradition it is sufficiently evident, in the first place, that, as soon as written records arose therefrom, these must also exhibit, along with striking similarity, much diversity. Leaving out of account all possible nearer relationship of the works or exemplars, both qualities must alike have been present, whether more or fewer such attempts were made at the same time. They were in reality but variations of the same theme; drawing their subject-matter from an ever-circumscribed range of facts, so that they must inevitably often cross one another's path; but in form more free and hence more unlike. Under form is included, beside the number and choice of the particular reminiscences appropriated, and the phraseology in all cases where this did not of itself constitute the pith of the tradition, also, and especially, the sequence of the separate passages and scenes.

The theme was a very simple one in its arrangement, as is very obvious if one collects from the Acts, the N. T. Epistles, and the earliest Christian Fathers, the points which everywhere recur as the foundation for practical instruction. Beside the death and resurrection of Jesus, which occur most frequently of all, and the circumstances of which were often related (1 Tim. vi. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 3 ff.; Acts i. 21, etc.), the proclamation of the Baptist (Acts xiii. 24, etc.), the miracles of healing (x. 38), baptism and the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23 ff.), together with numerous sayings, proverbs, and striking words, which in many ways are perceptible even in the different style of the writers of the Epistles, were certainly the daily spiritual food of the churches (cf. O. Thenius, *Das Evangelium ohne die Evangelien*, L. 1843; Paret, *Paulus und Jesus*, *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1858, I.). This framework was given and withal fast fixed, so that there only remained opportunity for more or less detail in filling it out; no essential rubric could be wholly absent, and only in that which lay without it (cf. Acts i. 21; Mk. i. 1), and did not belong to the circle of reminiscences made use of for instruction, as Mt. i., ii., Lk. i., ii., is a total diversity conceivable. But the idea that the history of the childhood was originally lacking as something purely esoteric, and that the discourses of the risen Saviour were intended to remain forever secrets (Thiersch, *Apost. Kirche*, p. 102) does not belong to the history of the literature, but is simply a conceit of the theorists, and moreover would render this diversity completely inexplicable.

The circumstance that so solemn, oft-repeated words as those spoken at the institution of the Lord's Supper could be written down so variously, that the principles and maxims publicly uttered by Jesus are so seldom found in the Epistles in the same external setting as in the Gospels, shows the freedom of tradition as to form, and must therefore make us more inclined to accept every striking verbal agreement as a ground for the assumption of a nearer relationship, although it can never be conclusive. The deeper and

more active the mind, the freer the form. It is only the school which has lost the spirit that cannot understand this freedom.

The extant fragments of the lost Gospels bear strong testimony to both the above remarks.

173. Further investigations are now guided by a fact which has only lately been definitely recognized, but which can never again be lost to history, and which will furnish the main key to the understanding both of the development of this branch of the apostolic literature in general and of the relation of the still extant documents one to another. These latter were not the only ones known to ancient times, and very probably not the first and oldest. They may have arisen of greater or less length, in many regions, independently of one another, in the Greek language as well as in the Hebrew, although it is only in general that we can assert any of these things with full certainty, while in details we can for the most part offer only conjectures. Much that is now lost was preserved long enough so that later writers bear witness to it, and was only forgotten through the ignorance of later generations, misapprehended and denied through the prejudice of bigoted critics. As to the date of the first beginnings of this historical writing, it is doubtless to be placed before the destruction of Jerusalem.

In former times men were only too much inclined either to refer the statements of the Church Fathers respecting such works to apocryphal writings, *i. e.* such as were deemed unworthy of the favor of the church, or to regard these writings themselves as counterfeit imitations of our canonical Gospels. Most manuals of Introduction pass them over in complete silence. But there are some, even among the latest, which are so far from clear ideas on the subject that they reverse the case and place all such Gospels and the discussions respecting them (Gospels of the Hebrews, of Justin, of Tatian, of Cerinthus, of the Egyptians, of Marcion; — those ascribed to certain well-known Gnostics of the second century) at the head of the whole investigation of the gospel literature.

No safe inference as to the time of the origin and dissemination of written Gospels can be drawn from patristic citations, even the most ancient (§ 287), since the writers are either too late or may have obtained their quotations from oral tradition. The form in which many sayings of Jesus appear in their writings (Barn. v. 7, 19; Clement xiii. 46, etc.) seldom agrees with that in the canonical books, and may just as well be referred to memory as to written documents unknown to us. The writings ascribed to Ignatius and Polycarp arose at a time when a use of our Gospels (which however has never been proved) would no longer be anything remarkable. To find in 1 Thess. v. 1 f. proof of the existence of written Gospels (Ewald, *Paulus*, p. 48), is very doubtful. Cf. the essay: *Bis zu welcher Zeit muss das Lucas-Ev. und überh. die drei Synoptiker abgefasst worden sein?* Z. 1848; C. Tischendorf, *Wann wurden unsre Evv. verfasst?* 4th ed. L. 1866 [E. tr. Boston, 1868]; on the other side, Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1865, III. ; 1867, I. ; Rumpf, in the *Strassb. Revue*, 3d series, V. ; G. Volkmar, *Der Ursprung unsrer Evv. nach den Urkunden*, Z. 1866.

174. Furthermore, there is to be added to all this the fact, which is raised above all doubt, that these historical writings

had nowhere, at their first appearance, an official character. They were simply records made just as personal needs and opportunity to supply them called them forth, and circulating, possibly, scarcely beyond the threshold of their author, — although no favor is herein implied to the idea of any very considerable number of them. Even upon the assumption, which is wholly incapable of proof, that some well-known or accredited teacher of the church, an apostle or one of the earliest disciples, sought in this way to preserve his own recollections, the opinion that such a book must at once have gained a legal status and a general circulation, is still, in view of what is known of the early churches, their methods of teaching, and their organization, excluded.

The fact should never be lost sight of that it was the dogmatic element, which, moreover, was at first very simple, and not the historical, that was the essential thing in the apostolic instruction. The historical was concentrated on the one hand upon the idea of the wonderful character of the appearance and work of Jesus, the resurrection being doubtless made so prominent that other events were obscured; on the other hand upon the essence of his preaching and promises. The greater the number of accounts of particular miraculous scenes known and in circulation among the churches (Jn. xx. 30 ; xxi. 24 f.), or even the conception of the mass of the people of those which had taken place (Mt. iv. 23 f. ; viii. 16 ; ix. 35 ; xii. 16 ; xiii. 58 ; xiv. 36 ; xv. 30 ; Mk. i. 32 ; iii. 10 ; vi. 5, 56 ; Lk. iv. 40 ; vi. 19, etc. ; together with the parallel passages), the less could the thought enter the mind of the apostles or other leaders of the church of preparing a collection of such as it was necessary to know. Of material for instruction there was enough at hand, and as yet no anxiety on account of spurious admixtures. Cf. § 36.

Yet it will be sufficiently evident from the following that the idea, widespread and much insisted upon among moderns (and in part also among the ancients), that individual and distinct dogmatic points of view were prevalent at the time of the composition of our Gospels, appears to us an exaggeration. This notion influences in many ways the judgment of critics on an essentially literary-historical question, especially in the writings of the Tübingen school, to be mentioned hereafter, but is carried to the extreme by an anonymous author : *Die Evangelien, ihr Geist, ihre Verfasser und ihre Verhältnisse zu einander*, L. 1845. J. Körber, *Das Geheimniss der Einheit und Verschiedenheit der vier Evv.*, Regb. 1866, attempts, for apologetic purposes, to discover and set forth the actual or supposed divergent dogmatic tendencies of the Gospels.

175. On the contrary, there is reason to suppose that individuals who had in any way come into possession of such a document, and who took delight in and were zealous for its contents, may have taken pains, as opportunity offered, to give it greater completeness by supplementing or correcting it. When something new or more accurate was learned, it could without difficulty be introduced into a work which consisted essentially only of a greater or less number of detached passages, whose connection could neither be injured nor benefited by such interpolations or additions. Now just as in the be-

ginning oral tradition alone gave rise to the first historical compositions, and was still available as a constant source of their enrichment, so it is evident that he who was seeking such enrichment would not despise other written sources if he could find them. They were, it is true, not so rich as tradition, and therefore were not yet to be preferred to it, but what they did furnish acquired a sufficient guaranty from the very fact that it was written.

What has just been said is of course only a hypothesis ; but it has in its favor not only a psychological and literary-historical naturalness, which is lacking in many another, but also positive proof, §§ 239, 240, 241. The greatest objection to it is a preconceived notion that there was immediately prepared a great number of copies of the early Christian writings, the historical among them, and that consequently there existed from the beginning a considerable number of agreeing copies. The further progress of our treatment of the subject, especially §§ 186 ff., will make the case still clearer.

The same is true supposing that some one, not for personal ends, but with proper literary design, with the aid of one or more written documents, undertook to write a more complete work on the gospel history, as has been asserted by critics of our evangelists, in the most various manner and of each in turn. Not to speak for the present of others, Luke (§§ 200, 203) and Papias expressly acknowledge such procedure. The latter says (Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39) : οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα συγκατατάξαι, ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν . . . οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης. Tradition was to him therefore the proper source from which to enrich and at the same time διαβεβαιοῦσθαι, correct and confirm, the written accounts already extant, through a new σύνταξις or collation. Cf. Steitz, *Art. Papias*, in Herzog's *Encykl.* ; Zahn, in the *Studien*, 1866, IV. ; Overbeck, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1867, I., and below, §§ 186, 187.

176. The more the writings which first came into circulation became in the manner described a welcome source for further and more extended records, or themselves served one another for the same purpose, the more must the later writings have come to resemble one another in their external form. The number of facts from the life of the Saviour generally disseminated increased. The fragments of his discourses became longer and acquired a more fixed phraseology, because from among various forms was soon selected the best, that which was most appropriate to the probable sense of the original text. But the influence of two writings, one upon the other, was particularly manifested by the circumstance, otherwise quite inexplicable, that long series of events were narrated in similar order, although no inner necessity existed for it, and all chronological data were entirely absent.

The latter circumstance would not warrant such an inference if it was confined to different scenes which were naturally connected ; *e. g.*, at the beginning and end of the public life of Jesus. The history of the Baptist, of the baptism, and the temptation, could certainly take no other position, not to

speak of the history of the passion, which from the very beginning must have been the part most often repeated of all, and kept in freshest, most living remembrance. So also the healing of the woman with an issue of blood may always have been interwoven with the narrative of Jairus' daughter, Mt. ix. 18 ff. ; Mk. v. 22 ff. ; Lk. viii. 41 ff. But in other places one really does not see how the sequence could have remained constant on the supposition of transmission by oral tradition alone. (For examples see § 181.)

177. When finally men began to be on the lookout, in the family and soon also in the church, for written records of the life of the Saviour, it is self-evident that the more complete collections would be preferred and the less complete neglected. These latter were consequently soon lost. Especially, however, was this the case when to the books of the former sort were attached names which commended their contents, and for still other reasons than their greater completeness. These names, however, did not necessarily bear witness to the immediate composition of a writing by this or that Apostle or apostolic man, as was no doubt soon understood to be the case. In accordance with what has been said before, they doubtless rather designated the original oral source to which an account could be traced back, or perhaps the author of an original writing from which, by extension and correction of various sorts, a later work had been derived.

If the ancients knew a Gospel *κατὰ Πέτρον* and held it in high repute, they did not thereby, originally, assert that Peter himself composed and wrote it, but the authority for its contents was simply connected with the name able to afford the best protection. In view of the existence of a Gospel "according to the Twelve Apostles" (§ 198) it is self evident that the *κατὰ* can have only such a moral-critical signification as this. To what extent this remark is applicable to our Synoptic Gospels, especially the first two, will appear hereafter.

When a choice between several collections is spoken of, this is not to be understood as a thing of every-day occurrence, which would presuppose the wide distribution of many varying editions. Reputation and authentication within the church had most to do with this choice. An undertaking like that of Luke necessarily rendered the preceding πολλοὺς (i. 1) antiquated even for those who had never seen them. It is natural therefore to regard our three extant Synoptic Gospels as those which, in three different geographical regions, had soon, by their internal and external advantages, eclipsed all which may have existed by the side of them. The traditions of antiquity seem not unfavorable to such a conception ; yet see § 207.

178. These historical writings had at first no special and common names. At least nothing of the kind has been handed down to us, and in view of the ease with which, in ancient times, books dispensed with definite titles, it is not necessary to seek for one. Later they were called Gospels, more accurately books of the Gospel or good news of the coming of Christ. This name finally clung to them in its abbreviated,

elliptical form, and has become the one altogether most current among the people. It displaced all other names which may have been in use in ancient times, and we may also make use of it in this work, because of its convenience, though knowing well that it does not reach back to the time of the first Apostles.

That *εὐαγγέλιον* as used in the N. T. nowhere has the now common literary sense (not even in Rom. ii. 16 ; xvi. 25 ; 2 Tim. ii. 8, as the Church Fathers explain it) needs no proof. On the theological sense cf. *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, I. 221 ; II. 81 (3d ed. I. 215 ; II. 52) [E. tr. I. 186 ; II. 45]. Yet it is not always, particularly not in the writings of Paul, simply the objective contents of apostolic preaching, but frequently also the act of preaching itself, the practice of the office.

In accordance with the etymological sense of the word, the title of a book of the Gospel must have been : *Εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ* (Mk. i. 1) *κατὰ* . . . cf. Jerome, *Catal.*, ch. iii. : *Matthæus evangelium Christi composuit* ; Iren. iii. 1 : *γραφή τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*. Nor has the original signification of the word ever been lost in theology. Cf. Suicer, *Thes. eccl.*, sub voce.

Other designations of the historical accounts of the life of Jesus are (not *βίβλος γενέσεως*, Mt. i. 1 ; which is only the superscription of the genealogy) *διηγήσεις*, Lk. i. 1, and *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, in the writings of Justin (§ 199), in whose time these *ἀπομνημονεύματα* were beginning to be called *εὐαγγέλια* (*Apol. I.*, 66).

179. From this period, or from that immediately following, there have been preserved three writings of the kind described, whose origin and mutual relations have become in our times subjects of much investigation and contradictory opinions. They exhibit to the attentive reader, in connection with a surprising similarity in material and expression, partially also in the order of the narrative, many differences, yet more surprising, and while the former often amount to the appearance of direct copying, the latter not seldom become irreconcilable contradictions. The solution of this riddle, utterly inexplicable upon the older theological views, has been equally impossible in modern times so long as critics, having reference more particularly now to the resemblances, now to the differences, have attempted to decipher it on the basis of the extant literary monuments alone.

On account of this relationship between the writings in question, and of the treatment of them together and in synoptic form thus made convenient, both in the printing of the text and exegetically, the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are commonly called the Synoptic Gospels, and are distinguished by this name from the fourth, which is different from the first three in this respect. To extend this treatment to the Fourth Gospel (except, perhaps, in the history of the passion) is, from the present standpoint of science, an anachronism and a misconception (§§ 214, 221). Cf. my article *Synopse*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

In order to obtain a summary view of the whole matter let us first follow out a synopsis of the contents : —

I. The narrative of the birth, found only in Matthew and Luke, and their

accounts wholly different. Under this head may be reckoned the genealogies, except that Luke brings in his later. Mt. i., ii.; Lk. i., ii., iii. 23-38.

II. The preaching of the Baptist, the baptism and temptation of Jesus, the beginning of his public teaching, and the calling of the first disciples; connected in all three, agreeing almost throughout, and evidently related. Only at the close Luke follows a path of his own. Mt. iii. 1-iv. 22; Mk. i. 1-20; Lk. iii. 1-22; iv. 1-30.

III. First group of deeds and words of Jesus. Mt. iv. 23-xiii. 58; Mk. i. 21-vi. 13; Lk. iv. 31-ix. 6. Here Mark and Luke have the same order throughout in the sections common to both, with the single exception of the three verses Lk. viii. 19-21, which must be out of place. Matthew, on the contrary, has a wholly different order. Of the matter found in Mark there is lacking in Luke, Mk. iii. 20-30 (yet cf. Lk. xi. and xii.) and Mk. vi. 1-6 (yet see Lk. iv. 16 ff.); in Matthew, Mk. i. 21 ff., 33 ff. Of the matter found in Matthew there is lacking in Mark, Mt. viii. 5 ff. and ch. xi. altogether; in both the others, beside many fragments of discourses, Mt. ix. 27-38. Of the matter found in Luke there is lacking in Matthew, Lk. iv. 31 ff., 41 ff.; in Mark, Lk. vii. 1 ff., 18 ff., and several discourses; in both, Lk. v. 1 ff. (yet cf. Mt. iv. 18; Mk. i. 16), vii. 11 ff., 36 ff.

IV. Second group of deeds and words, usually combined with the foregoing under the title of the Galilean ministry. Mt. xiv.-xviii., Mk. vi. 14-ix. 50; Lk. ix. 7-50. All three have the same order in the sections common. Matthew alone has xvii. 24-27 and the most of ch. xviii. Mark alone has vii. 31-37, viii. 22-26. Luke has nothing peculiar in this division, and lacks all found in Mk. vi. 45-viii. 26 and Mt. xiv. 22-xvi. 12.

V. Third group, usually called the narrative of the tours, wholly peculiar to Luke (ix. 51-xviii. 14), since the few real parallels (Mt. viii. 19 f.; xi. 20 ff.; xii. 22 ff.; Mk. iii. 20 ff.) are in a different connection in Matthew and Mark. Yet there are numerous parallels in single sentences to almost all the passages of Luke here classed, especially in the earlier sections of Matthew.

VI. Fourth group, usually placed with the foregoing, Mt. xix., xx., Mk. x., Lk. xviii. 15-xix. 27. The order of the common sections is the same. Matthew alone has xx. 1-16. Luke alone has xix. 1-27 (yet cf. Mt. xxv. 14 ff.). The latter lacks Mt. xix. 1 ff., xx. 20 ff., together with the parallel passages of Mark.

VII. The last days in Jerusalem, Mt. xxi.-xxv., Mk. xi.-xiii., Lk. xix. 28-ch. xxi. Order the same. Matthew alone has xxi. 28 f. and most of the matter of the discourses in chs. xxiii. and xxv. Yet there are found elsewhere in Luke single scattered parallel sentences; cf. also Lk. xiv. 1 ff.; xix. 11 ff. Luke lacks Mt. xxii. 34 f. and parallel, Matthew, Lk. xxi. 1 ff. and parallel.

VIII. The narrative of the passion, Mt. xxvi., xxvii., Mk. xiv., xv., Lk. xxii., xxiii. In all three the main facts are the same, but in Luke the anointing is lacking, in him and Mark the death of Judas and the watch set at the sepulchre. Minor additions here and there in all.

IX. The narrative of the resurrection, Mt. xxviii., Mk. xvi., Lk. xxiv. Related only at the beginning; the appearances of the risen Saviour furnish no parallels, except that the end of Mark is in part clearly an extract from Luke.

But the problem is appreciated in its full significance not so much in this way as by the comparison of words and phrases, especially unusual ones, for the striking similarity, and of circumstances, for the often no less dissimilarity. Examples of both may be found on all sides in a Harmony, and are spoken of in general below. Upon the simplest and most natural division of the synoptic text into 124 sections (*i. e.* easily and naturally separable divisions, without reference to their length), 47 of these are in all three Gos-

pels ; 12 in Matthew and Mark, 2 in Matthew and Luke, 6 in Mark and Luke, 17 in Matthew alone, 2 in Mark alone, 38 in Luke alone. The text of Luke has 93 sections, and consequently, considered with reference to variety of matter, is the richest of all ; Matthew has 78, Mark 67. In making up these numbers, however, no regard is paid to slight additions, especially in the discourses. In the very minute division of Eusebius (§ 385), out of a total of 554 sections (John left out), 182 are found in all three, 73 in Matthew and Mark, 103 in Matthew and Luke, 14 in Mark and Luke, 69 in Matthew alone, 93 in Luke alone, 20 in Mark alone. According to this arrangement Luke would have 392 divisions, Matthew 427, Mark 289. The difference comes from the fact that in this system the longer discourses are broken up into a great number of sections. In our division Matthew has 330 verses wholly peculiar to himself, Mark 68, Luke 541. Matthew and Mark have 170 to 180 which are lacking in Luke ; Matthew and Luke 230 to 240 wanting in Mark ; Mark and Luke about 50 wanting in Matthew. The number common to all three is only 330 to 370. (The verses are generally shorter in Mark, hence the different figures.)

Editions of the first three Gospels arranged synoptically (seldom however printed plainly, but with columns running into one another) by J. J. Griesbach, 1776, 1797, 1809, 1822 ; W. M. L. de Wette and F. Lücke, 1818, 1842 ; M. Rödiger, 1829, 1839 ; M. H. Schulze, 1861 ; H. Sevin, 1866 ; with the addition of all extant uncanonical fragments, R. Anger, 1852 ; with the addition of John, J. Clericus, 1699, fol., beautiful and very plain ; J. Priestley, 1777 ; J. White, Oxford, 1805 and freq., in the Eusebian method, not available for our exegetical and critical purposes ; E. Greswell, 1834 and freq. ; J. A. Rotermundt, 1835 ; J. Gehringer, 1842 ; J. H. Friedlieb, 1847, 1869 ; E. Robinson, 1851 and freq. ; C. Tischendorf, 1851 and freq. ; cf. the first note on § 179. — [Wm. Stroud, Lond. 1853 ; Jas. Strong, N. Y. 1854 ; F. Gardiner, Edinb. 1871, Andover, 1876, after Tischendorf's text, with collation of Text. Rec., Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tregelles ; W. G. Rushbrooke, Camb. 1881, Tischendorf's text, corrected from Westcott and Hort.] Also, without the text : H. Planck, *Entwurf einer neuen Synopse*, Gött. 1807 ; G. C. R. Matthæi, *Synopse der vier Evv.*, Gött. 1826 ; G. P. C. Kaiser, *Syn. Zusammenstellung der vier Evv.*, Nb. 1828 ; H. N. Clausen, *Quatuor evv. tabulæ syn.*, Hafn. 1829 ; J. D. Schlichthorst, *Das Verhältniss der syn. Evv.*, Gött. 1835 ; E. F. Gelpke, *Anordnung der Erzählungen in den syn. Evv.*, Bern, 1839 ; V. Reichel, *Quatuor evv. harmonice et chronol. dispersita*, Prag, 1840 ; J. G. L. C. Krafft, *Chronologie und Harmonie der vier Evv.*, Erl. 1848 ; J. G. Sommer, *Synopt. Tabellen für die Kritik und Exegese der drei ersten Evv.*, Bonn, 1842 ; E. Köllner, *Syn. Tabellen*, Giess. 1849 ; Gratz, N. T., I. p. xi. ; Lachmann, in the *Studien*, 1835, III. See also Bouterwerk, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, IV. 261 ; Ebrard, *ibidem*, V. 553 ; Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, VIII. 115 ff. A summary of the rich older literature is given by Fabricius, *Bibl. græc.*, III. 212 ; Hase, *Leben Jesu*, § 21. The aim of the latter, however, was not so much synoptic as harmonistic. My tables in the *Strassb. Revue*, X. 78.

Any synoptic arrangement of the text of the Gospels will exhibit the fact that it is not so much the historical elements as the didactic that are cut to pieces thereby, and this is the more true as the discourses are more extended. A proof that these discourses grew by combinations which were often arbitrary, and that, in their beginnings at least, they were for the most part preserved separately.

The older theology, in order to have no necessity for transposition, and to allow inspiration a field for action everywhere, even in the arrangement of the matter, assumed, as a fundamental position, the repetition of the same occurrences at different times, which, as applied to the didactic elements, was a very simple, as applied to many events (*e. g.*, the cleansing of the Temple

and the like) an indispensable, postulate of harmonistics. So formerly A. Osiander, 1537 and freq., and even very recently : *Concordance des évangiles*, Str. 1861.

180. On the one side critics have insisted upon explaining the relation between these three Gospels simply from their assumed dependence one upon another. For this purpose now the first, now the second, and now the third has been represented as the earliest, and the source of the others, or on the other hand as the latest and as having used both the foregoing. The very possibility of such mutually antagonistic attempts shows their arbitrary character, and in fact no one of all the conceivable combinations of this sort, though thought out and carried through with the greatest diligence and acuteness, has been able to develop itself into convincing clearness or satisfactory completeness. The explanation given of the resemblances is doubtful, considering the assumed character of the writers, and the differences, far from explaining themselves, are yet more doubtful, considering the assumed character of the history.

Every mathematically conceivable combination has found its defenders : —

1. Matthew wrote first, Mark next, Luke last : so, among others (after Augustine, § 171) Grotius, Mill, *Prolegg.*, 109 ff., Bengel, Wetstein, T. Townson, *Discourses on the Four Gospels*, Oxf. 1778. [Klostermann, Keil, Greswell.] Especially Hug, in his *Einleitung*. Seiler, *De tempore et ordine evv.*, 1805 ; J. Aeschmann, *Origine des trois pr. év.*, Gen. 1832 ; Hennell, *Ursprung des Christenthums*, p. 72 ff., cf. Scholten, § 184. At present the middle position of Mark is defended in particular by A. Hilgenfeld in several works (§ 189) and articles in his *Zeitschrift*. G. D'Eichthal, *Les évangiles*, P. 1863, 2 vols.

2. Luke wrote second, Mark drew from both the others : so especially Griesbach in several essays (*Opp.*, Vol. II.) ; H. Saunier, *Ueber die Quellen des Ev. Marci*, B. 1825 ; C. G. W. Theile, *De trium priorum evv. necessitudine*, L. 1825 ; cf. this author's essays in Winer's *Journal*, V. 385, VI. 1 ; Fritzsche in his *Commentary* ; A. F. Gfrörer, *Die heilige Sage*, Stutt. 1838, 2 vols. Essentially also Paulus, *De origine evv.*, 1797, and *Exeget. Conservatorium*, 1822, Pt. I. ; Stroth, in the *Repert.*, IX. 144 ; Sieffert, *Ursprung des ersten kanon. Ev.*, Kön. 1832 ; Ammon, *Lucas emendator Matthæi*, Erl. 1805. In modern times, though frequently with the assumption of supplementary sources : De Wette and Neudecker, in their *Einleitungen* ; F. C. Baur, see §§ 163, 189 ; Delitzsch, see § 195 ; F. J. Schwarz, *Neue Unterss. über die syn. Evv.*, Tüb. 1844 ; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, I. 457 ; Kern, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1838, II. ; *Das Abhängigkeitsverhältniss der Evv.* (anon.), B. 1847. Bleek, in his *Einleitung*, makes Mark to have compiled from both the others, but these to have drawn from the "Protevangeliem."

3. Mark is the oldest, Matthew (the Greek) the latest : G. C. Storr, *De fonte evv. Matth. et Luc.*, Tüb. 1794 ; idem, *Zweck der ev. Gesch. des Joh.*, § 58 ff. In modern times this combination has become particularly prominent, though modified in many ways ; see § 184. Cf. also Thiersch, *Ap. Kirche*, p. 101 ff.

4. Luke wrote first, Mark used both the others : A. F. Büsching, *Die vier Evv.*, Hamb. 1776 ; Evanson, 1792 ; Thiersch, *Hist. Standpunkt*, p. 182.

5. The same, except that it is Matthew who draws from both the others :

Vogel, in Gabler's *Journal für auserlesene theolog. Literatur*, I. 1 ff. Cf. also Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 16.

By all these arrangements, so far as they are confined to the three extant writings alone, are easily explained (*a*) the agreements of one with another, the more natural as they are greater; and (*b*) the pure additions, which have been borrowed from other sources, either oral or written. But the many differences in detail make a difficulty, because they show that the preference was given to these other sources over those now extant, so that in reality the relation of dependence no longer exists. This holds true especially of the beginning and end of the history. But completely incomprehensible becomes the omission entire of important sections: *e. g.*, Mt. xiv. 22–xvi. 12, xix. 1 f., xx. 1 f., omitted in Luke, or Lk. vii. 11 f., x. 25 f., and the greater part of chs. xii.–xvii., omitted in Matthew. One must attribute to Mark the intention of giving only excerpts from the history, if he is supposed to have written later. The smaller differences in the common sections are such that it is not always the same Evangelist who has the most complete, accurate, and clear narrative; they cannot therefore all be regarded as emendations or as evidences of individual negligence and carelessness. But as soon as we are compelled to explain them from other causes the hypothesis falls to the ground from its unnaturalness, since it must assume that one had the work of another before him, and line by line copied, corrected, abridged, interpolated, transposed, etc. But the narrative certainly does not give the impression of so careful work. And in the whole discussion the fact has been entirely left out of account that there were other books in existence, exhibiting both resemblances and differences, which must also have been taken into account by one undertaking such a task.

181. Others, in precisely the opposite way, derived the explanation of the phenomena solely from the power and influence of oral tradition, which was thought of for this purpose as so often and vividly repeated that it was soon able to preserve itself unchanged from mouth to mouth, even in minute details of expression and order of words. On this solution the differences were explained still more simply and naturally. And the importance and influence of this method of preservation and dissemination of the gospel history, as has already been said, can scarcely be overestimated. The question is only whether it is sufficient to explain satisfactorily all the phenomena with which we have to deal, especially the resemblance and uniformity. Upon precisely this point weighty doubts have necessarily arisen.

J. C. R. Eckermann, *Ueber die wahrscheinliche Entstehung der Evv.*, etc., in his *Theol. Beiträge*, Pt. V., 1796; also Herder, *Regel der Zusammenstimmlung unserer Evv.*, 1797, not, however, without the assistance of the hypothesis of the Protevangelium as a general guide. Most thoroughly and consistently, J. K. L. Gieseler, *Ueber die Entstehung und frühesten Schicksale der schriftl. Evv.*, L. 1818. Cf. the same author in Keil's *Analekten*, III. 1; also Guericke, in his *Einkl.*; D. Schulz, in the *Studien*, 1829, IV. 597. [Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, 2d ed. 1848; Alford; Westcott, *Introduction*, Lond. 1860, 6th ed. 1881; Godet, *Origin of the Four Gospels*, in his *Studies in the N. T.*, 1873, E. tr. Lond. 1876.]

The greatest objection to this view is the circumstance (§ 176) that not only in groups of scenes from the life of Jesus in which some inner connection

forms a natural bond, but also where nothing of the kind exists (*e. g.*, Mt. ix. 1-17; xii. 1-21; viii. 23-34; xvi. 13-xvii. 23, etc., cf. with the parallel passages, but especially the greater number of the narratives common to Luke and Mark) the same order is followed. Besides, there comes the question whether such a mass of facts, in part merely repeated without ever having new dogmatic elements added, can have belonged to the daily instruction of apostles and missionaries, which must be assumed in order to comprehend the stereotyping of the phraseology and syntax.

But this view finds a very important support in the circumstance that the agreement is greater in the words of Jesus than in accounts of events, and that in the latter the differences occur more often in incidental circumstances, more seldom in that which constitutes the substance of the history. This fact favors the view that oral tradition and a certain freedom in working over the material must be taken into account in the solution of the problem, and that a slavish copying is not to be admitted, although this view ought not to be carried out one-sidedly. In the narrative of the feeding of the multitude, for example, the phraseology varies throughout in the three (six) accounts, and only in the points of chief importance, Mt. xiv. 19, 20; Mk. vi. 41 f.; Lk. ix. 16 f. (Mt. xv. 36 f.; Mk. viii. 6 f.; and even Jn. vi. 11 f. in part), is there literal agreement. Similar phenomena are very abundant; for isolated fragments of discourses cf. Mt. iii. 7 ff., and Lk. iii. 7 ff.; Mt. iii. 12 and Lk. iii. 17; Mt. vii. 3 ff. and Lk. vi. 41 f.; Mt. vii. 7-11 and Lk. xi. 9-13; Mt. viii. 19, 20 and Lk. ix. 57, 58; Mt. ix. 37 f. and Lk. x. 2; Mt. xi. 21 ff., 25 ff. and Lk. x. 13 ff., 21 f.; Mt. xii. 27 f., 41 f., 43 ff. and Lk. xi. 19 f., 31 f., 24 ff.; Mt. xxiii. 37 ff. and Lk. xiii. 34 f., etc., especially in connection with what precedes and follows.

Many of the critics mentioned in other sections (*e. g.*, De Wette, Thiersch) make a limited, softened use, in many ways, of the view here set forth without reserve; cf. above, § 164 ff.

182. On the other hand there have been many attempts to solve the difficulties of the problem by the assumption of sources no longer accessible to us, which were at the disposal of the authors of our three Gospels. From the nature of this solution it allowed conjecture a wide range, and out of the darkness of the first century there arose an early historical literature of great variety, which owed its existence fully as often to the mere imagination of scholars as to scattered hints in the ancient writers, as much to the reflection of modern customs and relations as to a correct apprehension of what was at that time possible and natural.

Not that the assumption of the existence of other Gospels beside our canonical ones is open to reasonable doubt; the only point of doubt is in what relation these may have stood to those now extant. One might think of a single standard original, or of several, for use at pleasure; it might be either Hebrew or Greek, mediate or immediate; its extent might be assumed to be greater or less, its contents more or less full, and the supplementing of it might be accomplished from writings alone, or from tradition, or from the personal experience of the authors, etc. It is scarcely necessary to enumerate all the modifications of this view which have been put forward or are otherwise conceivable; they teach us not so much the history of the literature as that of criticism, and show that the way to the day of truth for men always and everywhere is through the night of error or the twilight of half-successful attempts.

183. The most famous of these hypotheses is that of the so-called Protevangelium. There existed very early, it is said, in the popular language of Palestine, for the use of the traveling missionaries, a short account of the life of Jesus, which was soon translated into Greek for the same purpose, worked over in different ways, and enriched; thus, after having had incorporated into itself many variations, it became the source of our extant Gospels, the authors of the latter neither having known nor made use of one another. This conception, carried out in various ways, is based upon the opinion that the phenomena to be explained obtain sufficient light only from the assumption of a written source for all the historical works of the apostolic age; but it does away with all freedom in phraseology and treatment, and, as well, with every natural understanding of the period and its characteristics.

The official origin and design of the Protevangelium, which is rather insinuated than positively asserted, is not the least difficulty with the hypothesis. An occasion for it is scarcely conceivable, and if it be admitted, the arbitrary alteration of the original document, and its disappearance without trace, remains unexplained. When every variation in our Gospels is referred to the special peculiarities of a written document upon which it was founded, and which therefore formed the middle member, or one of the middle members, between these Gospels and the Protevangelium, we reasonably ask, how came the variations in these middle members; and if they came into these by natural means, through the influence of subjectivity and oral tradition, why not into the others also? The problem remains unsolved; it has only changed its subject. But least of all is the hypothesis of an apostolic, official Protevangelium consistent with the apostolic authority of any one of our Gospels, especially of Matthew, since this Gospel must have been altered in many and important respects from the Protevangelium. Luke, i. 1 ff., knows nothing of such a Protevangelium, which, had it existed, would have saved him much labor; unless we should rather have had to lament that it was so meager.

The real inventor of the hypothesis is Eichhorn (not Carlstadt, as Credner asserts, *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, p. 306, for he is speaking of a transformation of the text in our manuscripts, not of the Gospels themselves in early times) in an essay in his *Bibliothek*, V. 761 ff. The clearness and thoroughness of his treatment of a problem yet new to criticism won for his view numerous advocates, and the defects which were soon discovered in it only called out modifications, each more ingenious than the preceding, but for a long time no radical opposition. We cannot go into the details of these alterations, the less since they appear to us now bothersome in proportion as their contemporaries admired them for their subtlety. Cf. Eichhorn's *Einkl. ins N. T.*, Pt. I., 1804, 2d ed. 1820; Herbert Marsh, in a special essay in his *Introduction to the N. T.*, III. 2, 161 ff.; J. W. B. Russwurm, *Ueber den Ursprung der Evv.*, Ratzeb. 1797, and supplement in Augusti's *Monatsschrift*, III. 323; J. W. Rau, *Progr. Erlang.*, 1805; Hänlein and Bertholdt, in their *Einleitung*; Kühnöl in his *Commentary*; P. A. Gratz, *Neuer Versuch über die Entstehung der drei ersten Evv.*, Tüb., 1812. Cf. also C. F. Fritzsche, in the *Appendix* to his work on the Pentateuch, 1814; Benzenberg, in the *Theolog. Nachr.* of Wachler, 1809, p. 226. The farther these modifications went the less consistent they became with the spirit of the apostolic church, and finally our Evangelists were represented as having done nothing but edit under their own names the work of others, and in the same spiritless

fashion in which often even now, out of two or three books already in existence, a new one is patched up.

184. Beside the hypothesis just discussed, the view that the kinship of the Synoptic Gospels is to be explained from their relation to some lost documents has been followed and applied in various ways by critics. Formerly either their plurality or their composition in the Hebrew language was emphasized, because these two circumstances seemed equally fitted to facilitate the desired explanation of the problem in hand. When one ventured a more definite conjecture, he depended upon the knowledge we possess of a Hebrew original of our Gospel according to Matthew, or upon the work called by the ancients the Gospel according to the Hebrews, though often confounded with the former. Most of the theories belonging under this head were held in rather general terms and reached no thoroughly satisfactory conclusion. Very recently science has made noteworthy progress in the solution of the problem, and in precisely this direction, though in many respects still groping her way.

J. Le Clerc, in his *Hist. eccl.* (1716, p. 429), later also J. D. Michaelis, in his *Einleitung*, and beside many others, A. T. Hartmann, in Scherer's *Schriftforscher*, I. 440 ff., had already shown the existence of early written Gospels, but without any thorough application of the idea; Semler (Notes on Townson) declared himself unequivocally for Hebrew documents; cf. also H. W. Halfeld, *De origine quatuor evv.*, Gött. 1794; Paulus, in his Commentary; L. J. Rhesa, *De Evv. III. priorum fonte*, Reg. 1819.

For the Gospel according to the Hebrews: G. E. Lessing, *Theol. Nachlass.* (1784), p. 45; C. F. Weber, *Beitr. zur Gesch. des neuestl. Kanons*, Tüb. 1791; idem, *Unterss. über das Ev. der Hebr.*, Tüb. 1806; W. C. L. Ziegler, in Gabler's *N. J.*, IV. 417; Thies, in his Commentary; Paulus, *Introd. sel. capp.*, 1799; Niemeyer, *Conject. de silentio scriptorum N. T. c. primordia hist. Jesu*, 1790.

For the Hebrew original of Matthew: H. Corrodi, *Beleuchtung der Gesch. des Bibelkanons*, II. 150; J. E. C. Schmidt, in his *Einleitung*, and in Henke's *Mag.*, IV. 576. Cf. also Feilmoser's *Einleitung*, and Bolten's *Uebers. der Evv.*; J. H. Scholten, *Inleiding tot de Schr. des N. T.*, 1856.

The farthest extension of the hypothesis, assuming a great number of small documents: Schleiermacher, *Ueber die Schriften des Lucas*, B. 1817; a simplification of his theory by E. Sartorius, *Ueber die Entstehung der drei ersten Evv.* (*Abhh.*, 1820, p. 1 ff.). He finds the original writing in 2 Tim. iv. 13. Cf. also Rettig, *De quatuor evv. origine* (*Ephem. Giss.*, 1824, I.).

Hilgenfeld, *Die Evv. nach ihrer Entstehung*, etc., 1854, inserts a Gospel according to Peter between Matthew and Mark. Cf. § 189.

Several intermediate works are assumed by H. Ewald, *Jahrb. der bibl. Wissenschaft*, 1848 f., and *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, Gött. 1850; according to him Mark holds the third place, Matthew the fifth, Luke the ninth, and the deacon Philip (Acts viii.) also takes part in the work. The latter is also enlisted by Sepp, *Das Hebräer-Ev. oder die Mc. u. Matth. Frage und ihre friedliche Lösung*, Münch. 1870.

A Proto-Mark, or Proto-Matthew, or both together, are assumed by C. G. Wilke, *Der Ur-Evangelist*, Dresd. 1838; B. Bauer, *Kritik der ev. Gesch.*, 1841 f., 3 vols.; H. Weisse, *Die ev. Geschichte*, L. 1838, Pt. I.; (Tobler) *Die Evangelienfrage*, Zür. 1858; J. T. Plitt, *De compositione evv. synopt.*, Bonn,

1860. See also the writings of Ewald, Meyer, B. Weiss, in the *Studien*, 1861, I., IV., by all of whom the greater originality in comparison with the others is claimed for our Mark, and generally also another source, now lost, is assumed for the latter. Cf. also Lachmann (§ 179), Hitzig (§ 190), Ritschl in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1851, IV.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evv. ihr Ursprung und geschichtl. Charakter*, L. 1863; Weizsäcker, *Ev. Geschichte*.

The "Mark-hypothesis" in its various phases is combated by Schanz, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1871, IV.; Hilgenfeld, in various essays elsewhere mentioned (*Zeitschrift*, 1857, III., IV.; 1859, II.; 1861, I., II.; 1862, I.; 1864, III.; 1866, I.).

185. Beside all these different conceptions and solutions of the difficult problem, there has come up, in very recent times, the wholly new view, according to which, either in connection with or opposed to the foregoing methods, the assumed peculiar theological bias of the individual writers is emphasized as the chief source and means of explanation. But, not to speak of the great overestimation of the phenomena collected in support of this view, it has not led to any more certain results. It scarcely needs to be said that no one of these numerous turns given to the question and its answer will in any point bear examination, or in any point even borders upon probability. They are not a whit more satisfactory now in the perfected form which their inventors have given them. Their recognized and only too perceptible insufficiency continually demands new attempts. Yet, however often these attempts may be foiled, historical science can never give up the hope of arriving at a satisfactory result. The following discussion makes no claim whatever to be exhaustive or to bring the matter to a final settlement, if indeed there be any prospect of such a settlement. The aim is rather to separate some things which perhaps may be maintained with greater certainty from the mass of that which is more obscure and doubtful.

So far as this attempt shall be successful, the absolutely untenable, at least, will be set aside, and space left free and basis furnished for further investigation. Should the discussion here given appear unsatisfactory because it goes too little into details, or because it is not positive on many points, this is explained in great part by the consideration that all elaborate machinery of assumptions and combinations is by all means to be avoided, since such work has very slight prospect of becoming and remaining a part of the productive capital of science.

Eichhorn's hypothesis of the Protevangelium was the fruit of the first really comprehensive investigation in this field, and has undeniably been of service to science, although it treated the problem almost solely with reference to quantitative relations. Schleiermacher's criticism also suffers from this one-sidedness, but tends in the opposite direction, from multiplicity to unity. Hug introduced into the investigation the subjective element of literary composition, Gieseler the life and thought of the Church,—finally, Baur and his followers the relations of religious and ecclesiastical parties. None of these elements should be wholly ignored, but in proportion as more are taken into account the more complicated becomes the investigation. Cf. on the whole course of development of this famous discussion, Hilgenfeld's *Evv.*, p. 1 ff.; Holtzmann, *Die syn. Evv.*, 1862.

The so-called *Tendenz* criticism of the Tübingen school (Baur, Schweigler, Ritschl, Hilgenfeld, Köstlin, see §§ 180, 189, 205), which apprehends and explains the relation of the Gospels to one another essentially on the basis of their theological bias, has proved itself inadequate to solve the problem conclusively, even were there higher warrant for its premises. According to Baur, Matthew and Luke stand opposed to each other, and Mark follows them, effacing their individual coloring; according to Ritschl, Mark stands before the others, being still without bias; according to Hilgenfeld he occupies the middle position in the passage from Jewish Christianity to Paulinism. Cf. against these views §§ 190, 194, 209. In general, however, in this method of treatment, the Evangelists appear more or less in the character of speculators, and Jesus becomes, as it were, the mere name for the different theories.

I have treated the subject in detail in the *Strassb. Revue*, Pts. X., XI., XV., and *Nouvelle Revue*, Pt. II. (1855–58).

186. For the earliest period from which any definite knowledge of gospel records has come down to us there may be distinguished in particular two works, which very probably served as the foundation of many later ones. The one is said to have had for its author the publican Matthew, one of the twelve, of whose person and life we have no authentic information. He is said to have written in Hebrew, that is, naturally, in the language then spoken in Palestine, and the essential purpose of his book was to collect and preserve the sayings and discourses of Jesus. That he held fast in the performance of his task to a particular religious position, perhaps the purely Jewish Christian, might be supposed, but cannot be proved. The circulation of the work in its original form must have been limited; by the middle of the second century it had disappeared without trace. There was probably never a literal Greek version of it.

This view is based chiefly on a passage of Papias (Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 39), who, in his work on the sayings of Jesus (*λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις*), mentions as his sources of the first rank the Apostles and their immediate followers, of which latter he himself still knew some; he also mentions by name two writings from which the same instruction could be derived, although for himself he preferred the oral sources (§ 175). Of one of these writings he says: *Ματθαῖος ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο ἡρμῆνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος*.

That these *λόγια*, as the essential part of the contents of the work of Matthew, must have been a collection of the discourses and sayings of Jesus is evident:—

(1.) From the fact that in describing the other writing Papias expressly emphasises miracles as the chief feature of its contents in addition to the discourses.

(2.) From the fact that he himself gives a definition of *λόγια* which can apply to nothing else; there is always connected with the word the idea of authority (*effatum, oraculum*), which is not the case with mere narratives; least of all would one have so designated a book which began with a genealogy and the story of the birth.

(3.) From the important fact that we probably still possess this collection of sayings and discourses, at least important portions of it (§ 192). That

many important sayings of Jesus were inseparably connected with outward events, and without these events were hardly comprehensible, does not alter the matter; with many more this was not the case at all, especially in the first period and for ear-witnesses; the *ἐξήγησις* might very often consist precisely of the search for or pointing out of the historical occasion, derived from tradition. Those who oppose the above idea of the nature of the work forget that by far the greater number of the utterances of Jesus (in the Synoptic Gospels) have been handed down without historic setting, and in numerous other cases this setting consists of general, colorless formulas. Cf. also Schleiermacher on the testimony of Papias, in the *Studien*, 1832, IV. Apparently no Greek version of the work of Matthew was known to Papias; at least none of ancient date. This whole idea of a collection of sayings, in Hebrew, has recently been again attacked, with great acuteness and vehemence, by R. Anger (*Ratio qua loci V. T. in ev. Mat. laudantur, quid valeat ad illustr. hujus ev. originem*, L. 1862, Pt. I.-III.), who has certainly furnished proof that the separation of the elements, even with the help of the O. T. quotations, cannot be mechanically accomplished, and that our extant text is no mere translation.

The further statement (Euseb. v. 10) that Bartholomew carried the Gospel of Matthew to India, where Pantænus (c. 170 ?) found it before him, sounds very fabulous, and certainly refers in the mind of the narrator to our present Matthew. So, naturally, all subsequent testimony to the Hebrew original of the latter, cf. § 198.

If the collection of sayings in question is actually preserved in our present Gospel of Matthew, the idea of an exclusively Jewish Christian coloring of this work falls to the ground, § 194.

Of the personality of Matthew we know nothing beyond that which this one Gospel (Mt. x. 3; ix. 9) says of him, that he was a publican. The parallel passages know nothing of this, and, as is well known, substitute another name (§ 169). Grimm, *Ueber den Namen Matthäus*, in the *Studien*, 1870, IV.

187. The other is said to have been undertaken by a follower of the Apostles, John of Jerusalem, known by the name of Mark, whom the Epistles and tradition place in close connection now with Paul and again with Peter. He is said to have gathered reminiscences of the life of Jesus from the mouth of the latter as he had opportunity, and afterward to have written them down without further arrangement, yet endeavoring neither to leave out nor to distort anything of what he had heard. It is very difficult to say according to what standard this judgment of lack of order is pronounced; yet we are certainly not to think of another writing which served the judge as a model, and are doubtless to imagine simply a collection of separate scenes, which had no particular beginning or end. As to the age of this collection, tradition may already have become obscure at the time when Papias wrote.

Papias (Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39) says of the presbyter John: Μάρκος μὲν, ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥστερ' σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἕνα γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν· ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλείπειν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The question is, what this ancient testimony, unique of its kind, really asserts, and whether it answers to our Gospel of Mark. Evidently the first and principal purpose of Papias is to place the authenticity of the account in question beyond doubt, by ascribing to it the authority of Peter, and emphasizing the carefulness of the writer. The idea is this: Peter gave gospel instruction such as the time and circumstances demanded (*πρὸς τὰς χρείας*), and interspersed it with appropriate reminiscences from the life of Jesus; these reminiscences, however, did not exhaust the material known to Papias (*ἐνία*); Mark, as the assistant of the Apostle in instruction, always wrote down accurately what Peter communicated (the separate *ἀπομνημονεύματα*), whether the discourses or deeds of Jesus, only intent upon neither omitting nor distorting anything which he heard, and not troubling himself farther about the true historical order (*τάξις*); so that his book could not be called a systematic edition (*σύνταξις*), least of all of the discourses of Jesus (*λόγων*), like the work of Matthew.

This description, of which the quotation of Eusebius (vi. 14) from Clement is a faint echo, certainly does not apply to the extant Second Gospel in so far as (1) it has a formal beginning; (2) the detailed account of the last scenes in the life of Jesus in orderly and coherent form at the end; (3) the separate narratives are brought by connective sentences of all kinds into an external relationship and sequence; (4) no thread of gospel instruction is to be recognized in the work, the events seeming rather to be narrated for their own sake.

In favor of applying this testimony to the Gospel of Mark may be adduced the following: (1) the fresh and vivid coloring of the narrative, etc. (§ 189), as pointing to an eye-witness; (2) the very lack of clearness in the words of Papias, which throughout are obscure in construction, and appear to be based upon a conception of the methods of teaching of the Apostles and their interpreters already very much colored by tradition. The question also comes constantly (3) what Papias can have meant by a *τάξις* of the gospel history. Even supposing (which we do not admit) that he had our present Matthew before him, can we believe it possible that he could find a plan in that (§ 192) while he found none in Mark? (Cf. also H. W. Kienlen, in the *Studien*, 1843, II.; Bäumlein, *ibidem*, 1863, I.)

A more accurate comparison of the Synoptic Gospels, however, reveals facts which place the testimony of Papias in a very favorable light. (1) Mk. i. 1-20 appears to be a résumé made up from our present Matthew and Luke, at least as far as vs. 16. (2) Luke, who made careful use of Mark and allowed nothing of its contents to escape him except so far as he could replace it from other and better sources, certainly did not know the narrative of the passion as we read it in Mark. (3) There is still, in Tertullian *Adv. Marcion*, III. 7, a faint glimmer of a knowledge of a Gospel which began with the narrative of the demoniac at Capernaum (Mk. i. 21); at precisely this point the dependence of Luke upon Mark begins, — in reality that of Matthew also, although in the first Gospel the first scenes were forgotten in the systematic arrangement of details. — If we add to this certainty the possibility that the unifying revision was not yet completed at this time, the judgment of Papias is justified and the Proto-Mark is plainly distinguished from the present Gospel.

On the person and life of Mark see Acts xii. 12, 25; xiii. 5, 13; xv. 36 ff.; Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; 1 Pet. v. 13. Cf. the Introductions and Commentaries, especially Hitzig, *Marcus*, p. 149.

How wavering, uncertain, and altogether fabulous, were the legends of the origin of the Gospels, even in the second century, plainly appears, in relation to Mark, from Eusebius ii. 15; v. 8; vi. 14. They are here already inseparably connected with events whose historical character is no longer tenable. How much 1 Pet. v. 13, 2 Pet. i. 15 contributed to these legends, or whether

the last passage is not itself a result of them, may remain undecided. In the course of time the Gospel of Mark came to be regarded as directly dictated by Peter. (Jerome, *Ad Hedib.*, Qu. 11.) Only *Constitt. app.*, ii. 57, make it to have been written under the influence of Paul. Many modern critics have therefore distinguished the Mark mentioned in the Acts and by Paul from the one in 1 Pet. v. 13 (as an actual son of Peter).

188. If for the most part only the writings of Matthew and Mark are mentioned by name as the beginning of the historical literature, this is doubtless due to the position which these men held in the apostolic church. It is not thereby proved that no one else, though perhaps with less ability, undertook a similar work. On the contrary there are many things which lead to the belief that many attempts of this kind were made, and that a considerable part of the historical material which has come down to us has been preserved through their exertions. But if the fact is established with respect to these two expressly attested original documents, that they are not to be regarded, either in form or extent, as complete and finished biographical narratives, then the same conclusion should hold in equal degree of these other conjectural original contributions.

This whole matter is essentially dependent upon the question whether those of our Evangelists who wrote later (according to our conclusions hereafter to be established, Matthew, and in particular Luke) made use of a number of written documents, or of none at all, or, finally, simply amplified, by means of tradition alone, some older work which they made the foundation of their own. On both the latter suppositions the above hypothesis is excluded. For even on the assumption of a single documentary basis there is no need to go beyond what is otherwise known to seek it.

We will therefore revert to the matter in its details, so far as they can be ascertained from these known sources, in the proper place below. But in no case is there any foundation for supposing the complete and unaltered incorporation of extensive writings, and the idea, particularly in favor with modern criticism, that the passage Lk. ix. 51-xviii. 14, almost entirely peculiar to him, was such a writing, once existing by itself, and inserted by him without change, — in fact an account of the last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem — is to be expressly rejected. That the idea in this form is untenable, see § 206.

The fact that in the narrative of the passion the additions peculiar to each Gospel are more numerous (Mt. xxvi. 25, 52 ff.; xxvii. 3-10, 19, 24, 52, 62 f.; Mk. xiv. 51 f.; Lk. xxii. 24-38, 43 f. 51; xxiii. 4-12, 27-31, 34, 39-43, 46) is explained more simply from the greater vividness and activity of tradition upon this subject than from separate writings; cf. also John. More numerous and striking still are the variations in the narrative of the resurrection. In fact, it is easy to show that we have here three original accounts, entirely independent of one another, of the last scenes in the earthly life of Jesus, — those in Mark, Luke, and John. That in Matthew is clearly dependent upon Mark. — Cf. C. H. Stirm, *Synopt. Bearbeitung der Leidensgeschichte*, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, XIII. (also separately, 1841).

189. Out of these original writings of which we have thus far been speaking have arisen, among others, the Gospels which we still possess. And it seems to us that our second Gospel, that of Mark, should be placed first, both in date and in degree of

nearness to the original sources. It has its title doubtless from its relation to the original work of the disciple of that name, and the revision which distinguishes it from this consisted not so much in alterations as in additions. Consequently it did not efface the character of the original work as a loosely connected series of scenes, into which, with few exceptions, only such discourses and sayings of Jesus were admitted as stood in close connection with the concrete facts of the history. Nor did it become a complete book of the gospel even by this revision, since the history still lacked the beginning and end, which were afterward added by other writers.

In our opinion, that is to say, the book always began, up to this time (cf. § 240), with the entrance into Capernaum, and closed with the resurrection (now i. 21 - xvi. 8), and we should have to find the distinction between this work and that described by Papias (§ 187) perhaps in the revision which improved the connection by the insertion of notes of transition, but certainly in the addition of the detailed narrative of the passion. Indeed, it would perhaps not conflict seriously with our view if this first revision and supplementing should be supposed to have been done by the author of the original writing himself.

But vi. 45 - viii. 26 was not in the book which Luke followed, in the main, in a part of his work, iv. 31 ff., since in his Gospel ix. 17, 18 = Mk. vi. 44 and Mk. viii. 27 are immediately adjacent. This passage must nevertheless be regarded as an integral part of Mark's Gospel, since it possesses all the characteristics of the rest of the text (§ 190), and, in particular, like the rest exhibits traces of the use of a Hebrew authority (vii. 11, 34; cf. v. 41; iii. 17; iv. 15; ix. 5; x. 51; xi. 21; xv. 34) which, however, cannot have been a written document. This prevents us from regarding the two short passages which do not occur elsewhere, vii. 32 ff., viii. 22 ff., as later interpolations, and since, — although it may, it is true, be asserted that Luke omitted the second feeding of the multitude and in consequence also viii. 11 ff., for critical reasons, and the narrative of the Syrophenician woman on dogmatic grounds, — no reason is apparent why he should have passed over vi. 45 - vii. 23, there is left us only the supposition that he had a defective copy. The contrary supposition, that Mark made additions to Luke, is excluded by the result of the following investigations. (§ 203.)

The common idea, that Mark drew from Matthew and Luke, and made up his Gospel by compilation, apparently finds much support in the order of the divisions: Mk. i. 1-20 is parallel with Mt. iii., iv.; on coming to the Sermon on the Mount, he takes the first division of Luke, beginning at iv. 31 ff., which had not yet occurred, and follows him (i. 21-iii. 19) to Lk. vi. 17, with the single omission of Lk. v. 1-11, which he could not use after having used Mt. iv. 18 ff. By comparison with Matthew it appears that he has taken something from Mt. xii. in ch. iii. 20-35, so that Luke, who also brings in the Sermon on the Mount in vi. 20 ff., is left wholly out of account. Through Matthew (ch. xiii.) Mark now comes to the collection of parables (= Lk. viii.), and continues with him for this reason, while Lk. vii. is forgotten in the mean time, and only Lk. viii. (Mk. iv., v.) is used, with the omission of vss. 19-21, which had already been inserted. Again, after giving the latter part of Mt. xiii. in vi. 1 ff., he goes on with Lk. ix. 1 = Mk. vi. 7, and soon returns wholly and finally to Matth. xiv. ff.

This conception, simple as it appears, we cannot adopt. It leaves many things unexplained. It places the literary character of the book in a very unfavorable light; either gives no reason at all for the omission of important

passages (Mt. v.-vii., x., xi., xxiii., xxv. ; also parts of viii., ix., xvii., xviii., xx., xxii., xxvii. ; Lk. vii., ix. 51-xviii. 14, xix. 1 f., etc. ; the history of the childhood, appearances after death), or finds it only in the mechanical superficiality of the compiler, and unnecessarily compromises the trustworthiness not only of the events which are omitted, but even more that of the circumstances connected with them. (On the relation of the text in detail see §§ 191, 203.) In consistency, the theory leads to the assumption that the compiler worked up together, even in single phrases, two texts which he had before him : i. 42 out of Mt. viii. 3 and Lk. v. 13 (*ἀπῆλθεν* and *ἐκαθάρίσθη*) ; i. 32 out of Mt. viii. 16 and Lk. iv. 40 (*ὄψα* and *δύνοντος ἡλίου*) ; ii. 13, 18 out of Mt. ix. 9, 14 and Lk. v. 27, 33 ; iv. 30 f. out of Mt. xiii. 31 f. and Lk. xiii. 18 f. also vi. 11 ; ix. 31 f. ; viii. 31 f. ; x. 13 ff., 31 f. ; xiv. 12, 13, etc., cf. with the parallel passages. If Mark really had such zeal that not a word should be lost, why did he altogether omit whole subjects ? Moreover the fact is not to be overlooked that the connection of the sections is at least as close in his work as in the others in just those places where, according to the above mechanical theory, it might be expected to be wholly lacking : i. 20, 21 ; iv. 1, 35 . . . ; vi. 1, 7, 30.

J. B. Koppe, *Marcus non epitomator Matthæi*, Gött. 1782 ; Gürike, *Beiträge*, p. 46 ; *De fontibus ev. Marci*, Progr. Regiom., 1829 ; A. Knobel, *De ev. Marci origine*, Br. 1831 ; E. C. Kruse, *Marcus und s. Evang.*, Itz. 1840 ; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, I. 456 ; A. Hilgenfeld, *Das Marcus-Ev. nach Composition, Ursprung, und Charakter*, L. 1850 ; F. C. Baur, *Das Marcus-Ev. nach s. Ursprung*, etc., Tüb. 1851 ; Hilgenfeld, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1852, I. ; Baur, *ibidem*, 1853, I. — B. van Willems, *De iis quæ ab uno Marco sunt narrata aut copiosius exposita*, Traj. 1811 ; A. Klostermann, *Das Marcus-Ev. nach s. Quellenwerthe für die ev. Geschichte*, Gött. 1867 ; G. Volkmar, *Die Evangelien, oder Marcus und die Synopsis der kan. und ausserkan. Evv.*, nach dem ältesten Text, mit Commentar, L. 1870 ; H. U. Meijboom, in the *Leidner theol. Zeitschr.*, 1867, p. 651 ff. Cf. in general the literature cited in § 180.

190. The smaller compass of the work, and the absence of most of the otherwise known sayings of Jesus, have doubtless contributed not a little to win for it a less favorable estimate with the critics, and to assign it to a subordinate position. But this is quite unjust. The facts are related exceedingly vividly, clearly, and circumstantially, and nowhere else so much in detail, or so graphically in their separate features. True, this fact is not in itself proof of originality ; but it establishes a good presumption of it, especially in comparison with the evident additions at the beginning and end, which, exhibiting the opposite qualities, certainly came from other sources. The idea that the author desired to avoid touching upon dogmatic controversies is to be rejected. No particular theological aim was in his mind, and the omission of many doctrinal discourses of the Lord was a natural consequence of the original plan of the book.

Those who regard Mark as a mere compilation from Matthew and Luke thereby condemn all the numerous minute features which distinguish his narrative as arbitrary and idle additions. But there are many of them which absolutely cannot be regarded as mere ornamental flourishes.

The general theological judgment respecting Mark at the present time is that of a colorless neutrality, implying a later origin. Premise and con-

clusion, separate or in connection, are both erroneous. A preference for facts and miracles in a collector of gospel narratives may exist as early as one for moral maxims and rules of life. And after all the question is not of an exclusive choice of one or the other, but only of more or less. Thus it was because the occasion was lacking for the employment of many stock controversial terms that they are not found, not because pains were taken to exclude them. It is not true that Mark did not quote the O. T. from antipathy to Jewish Christianity (vii. 6; ix. 12; xi. 17; xiv. 21, 27, 49). There is Jewish Christianity enough in ix. 1, ch. xiii. *passim*. Nor does he lack terms and principles of universality: ii. 18 f., 21 f.; iv. 30 f.; ch. vii. *passim*; viii. 15; ch. xii. *passim*, etc.; some he alone has: ii. 27; xi. 17, or uses with special emphasis: iii. 5; xiii. 10; xii. 33. The exegesis in vii. 27, cf. Mt. xv. 24, shows him to have been unbiased by any party prejudice.

The tradition which places the composition of the work at Rome has nothing against it but another which names Alexandria, which shows the entire want of trustworthiness in both.

With respect to the date the text contains no definite data. The eschatological discourse, ch. xiii., especially vs. 14 (§ 196), seems to point to the period of the Jewish war; by others it is wrongly considered as a mere thoughtless copy from Mt. xxiv. 15.

On the supposed original language of this Gospel, cf. § 49; E. C. Schrödter, *De lingua Marci authentica*, Vit. 1702.

J. D. Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Ev. Marcus* (Keil's *Analekten*, II. 2, 3; III. 1); De Wette, in the *Studien*, 1828, IV.; Russwurm, *ibidem*, 1830, IV. — F. Hitzig, *Joh. Marcus und seine Schriften*, 1843, p. 17 ff., 166 ff.; T. Fritz, in the *Annalen der Theol.*, 1834, III.; F. Köster, *ibidem*, 1835, II.; Schenkel's *Charakterbild Jesu*, etc.

191. A wholly different relation of elements is presented in the more extended account which has been handed down to us as the First, or Matthew's Gospel. The collection of separate scenes from the life of Jesus which it contains is not inconsiderable, although, on comparing it with the foregoing, less clearness of narration and often a hasty brevity and many gaps in the circumstances are clearly noticeable. Yet it contains much which is lacking in the other, not only single sentences, but whole passages. The order of the sections in the first half of the work is in many points different, but in the second quite the same. It may seem to others hazardous to regard this Gospel as immediately dependent upon that of Mark; it is certain to our view that the reverse relation is not the true one, and that the one just mentioned is in the highest degree probable.

This view may be supported by the following observations: —

1. Mark is not the *epitomator Matthæi*, which he has been declared to be. For (a) he adds remarks, in themselves unimportant, which are lacking in Matthew: vi. 3, 5, 6, 48; viii. 14; xiv. 3, 5; — (b) he gives his narrative, in particular, a more vivid psychological coloring: i. 31, 33, 41; iii. 5; iv. 38, 39; v. 29; vi. 1, 2, 17 ff., 34, 52, 55 f.; viii. 32; ix. 10, 33 ff.; x. 14, 17, 49; xv. 44; — (c) he extends the discourses in a manner which cannot in all cases be regarded as mere amplification, and has elements as to whose proper position there is doubt: ii. 9, 19, 27; iv. 19, 40; v. 34; vii. 8, 22; viii. 17 ff.; ix. 37, 39, 41, 49 f.; x. 21, 24, 30, 38 f.; xi. 24 ff.; xiv. 7; —

(*d*) he evidently follows some other authority than Matthew (or Luke) in whole sections : iii. 1 ff. ; ix. 33 f. ; x. 1 ff. ; xi. 11 ff. ; xii. 28 ff. ; — (*e*) he retains the Hebrew expressions in his narrative in just those places where Matthew, alleged to have been translated from the Hebrew, does not have them ; § 189 ; — (*f*) he is often more circumstantial than either in passages where he can be compared with both Mark and Luke : i. 29, 43, 45 ; ii. 14 ; iii. 21 ; iv. 34, 36, 38 ; v. 4 f., 13, 20 ; vi. 7, 37, 40 ; x. 46 ; xi. 4, 16 ; xiii. 3 ; xiv. 30, 51 ; xv. 21, 25, 42, 45 ; — (*g*) his freedom, as compared with Matthew, or with both the others, appears also in ii. 26 ; iii. 6, 22 ff. ; vi. 8, 9 ; vii. 26 f. ; viii. 10 ; ix. 12 ; — (*h*) exegetical notes : vii. 2 ff. ; xiv. 58.

In most of these cases it is more natural to regard the shorter form as the later and dependent one, or the more cumbrous one as the older. The brief passages which Mark alone has (iv. 26 ff. ; vii. 32 ff. ; viii. 22 ff.) may have been omitted partly because considered unnecessary in addition to others of similar import, partly on account of the strange method of healing employed by Jesus in the two latter cases ; cf. also vi. 13.

2. Matthew has elements which are wanting in Mark : (*a*) whole sections, both acts and discourses, §§ 179, 192 ; — (*b*) parts of discourses : xii. 5 f., 11 f., 27 f., 33 ff. ; xiii. 12 ff. ; xv. 13, 24 ; xvi. 2 f., 17 ff. ; xviii. 2 ff. ; xix. 9, 28, and many others ; — (*c*) accompanying circumstances of events : xiv. 28 ff. ; xvii. 6, 7, 13 ; xix. 10 f. ; xx. 20 ; xxi. 10 f., 14 f. ; xxvi. 14, 52 ; xxvii. 24, 29, 52 ; — (*d*) exegetical hints : xv. 2 ; xvi. 12, 22 ; xvii. 13, 20 ; xxiv. 15 ; xxvi. 68.

In most of these cases there is no conceivable reason why Mark should have omitted or abridged.

3. Matthew is not only actually the briefer but presumptively the one who has made a mere excerpt : (*a*) in the accounts of several miracles, *e. g.* of the demoniac at Gadara, the paralytic at Capernaum, Jairus' daughter and the woman that had an issue of blood, the epileptic, chs. viii., ix., xvii. ; — (*b*) in lesser portions of discourses : xii. 15 f. (Mk. iii. 7 ff.) ; xv. 34 (viii. 5, 7) ; cf. also Mk. vi. 5 with Mt. xiii. 58 ; Mk. xiii. 32 with Mt. xxiv. 36 ; also Mk. iii. 7 ff. ; vi. 17 ff. ; vii. 21 ; xii. 28 ff. Substantially, however, the whole discourse material of Mark has been gone over again in Matthew.

In these cases it cannot always be asserted (*e. g.*, Mt. viii. 28) that Matthew had no other source (oral or written) than Mark ; but it is quite certain that Mark had some other than Matthew (and Luke, § 203).

4. The careful comparison of longer parallel discourses or narratives in which all possibility of independence on both sides appears to be excluded would probably result in a strong argument for the priority of Mark from the construction and other minor points : *e. g.*, Mk. xi. 32 ; xii. 35 ; xiii. 14, 19, 20, 25, 27 ; xiv. 41, 44, 49. — In Mt. viii. 4 and xii. 15, 16, the prohibition of Jesus is incomprehensibly in presence of the multitude, while in Mk. i. 43 f. it is spoken in the presence of four, and in iii. 12 is addressed to the demons. The latter occurrence (Mk. i. 24, 34,) Matthew also goes over elsewhere. — Mark represents the disciples as much more immature (iv. 13, 40 ; vi. 52 ; viii. 17 f. ; ix. 6, 32 ; x. 32 ; xiv. 40) than Matthew, who more seldom inserts such notes (xv. 16 ; xvi. 23 ; xvii. 17). Of the warning in Mk. iv. 25 he makes a commendation, xiii. 12. Matthew improves (xiii. 55, 58 ; xx. 25 ff. ; xxvi. 8), renders plainer (Mk. ii. 18 ; vi. 48 ; ix. 11 f. ; vii. 9 ; viii. 15 ; xi. 13 ; xiv. 3), omits difficulties (Mk. ij. 26 ; v. 7 ; xiii. 32).

5. The fact that in the first half of the book the order of Mark is wholly forsaken proves nothing against the priority of the latter, since the choice of scenes and their sequence in Matthew is determined by a wholly different purpose ; § 192.

6. In case the dependence of the First Gospel upon the Second should be admitted in parallel passages, the question might still be raised whether for

the passages peculiar other written authorities were to be assumed; cf. § 188. Inasmuch as there often appears in these passages a noteworthy relationship to Luke, which however by no means seems like a relation of dependence, this question should doubtless be answered in the affirmative (§ 203). But whether in this case those authorities are to be thought of which are to be considered in § 192 is uncertain and little probable.

7. In former times there was controversy (but on different grounds than those here considered) over the genuineness of Mt. i., ii. Attacks by English Deists were replied to by J. C. Velthusen, 1771; J. F. Schmidt, 1791; Lilienthal, *Gute Sache*, 16, 670; Süsskind, in Pott's *Sylloge*, VIII.; Griesbach, in his *Comm. critica*, II. 45; J. G. Müller, Trier, 1830, and others. Cf. also J. O. Thiess, *De ev. Matth. interpolando non corrupto*, 1782, and *Repert.*, IX. 99.

192. But more noteworthy and important still is the knowledge given us by this Gospel of the discourses and sayings of Jesus, which are found nowhere else, least of all in Mark's Gospel, in so rich, complete, and connected a form as here. Nor should we overlook the peculiar circumstance that all these sayings, with the exception of those here and there which are inseparably connected with some external incident, are arranged on the basis of similarity of contents in different large groups, and that these groups are separated from one another, and as it were broken apart, by the insertion of a series of narratives of miracles, collected in the form of anecdotes. Involuntarily the attentive reader is impressed with the idea that the two parts of the book, discourses and miracles, were not so interwoven with each other by the original author, but by a later hand, and that for the discourses a peculiarly rich source was used, if not incorporated into the work as a whole. This source could certainly have been no other than the original writing of the Apostle Matthew.

Groups of discourses in Matthew:—

I. Chs. v.–vii., the most famous of all, the Sermon on the Mount, the parallel passages to which in Lk. vi., xi., xii., shorter ones also in xiii., xiv., xvi., are much scattered. Notwithstanding the latter fact, all ancient and many modern expositors have either assumed or attempted to prove the inner and necessary connection of the whole in all its parts, and only recently have a few recognized the arbitrariness of such a beginning. Important portions are without parallels in Luke. Cf. the monographs of Pott, Helmst. 1788; Jehnichen, Witt. 1788; Ferf, Utrecht, 1799; Oertel, Witt. 1802; Knapp, Halle, 1801; Rau, Erlang. 1805; Beckhaus, in Scherer's *Schriftforscher*, II. 1; Gschwend, in the *Opp. Schrift.*, V. 106; Grosse, Gött. 1818; Tholuck, Hamb. 1833 [4th ed. 1856; E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1860]; Follenius, Str. 1834; an anonymous writer, Königsberg, 1837; Duperret, Str. 1849; Armand, Str. 1853; M. N. Ringnalda, Traj. 1858; J. Evêque, Toul. 1859; Mor. Schwalb, in the *Strassb. N. Revue*, VIII. 257. [Hülle, Brem. 1876; Achelis, Bielef. 1876; Behrmann, Kiel, 1877; Thiersch, rev. ed., Augsb. 1878.]

II. The instructions to the disciples, ch. x.; parallels in Lk. vi., ix., x., xii., xiv., xvii., xxi.

III. The defense before the Pharisees, xii. 22 ff.; parallels in Lk. xi., but only in a fragmentary form and in a different order; also xii. and vi. 45.

IV. The collection of parables on the Kingdom of God, ch. xiii. In Luke, partially, chs. viii. and xiii., with other parallels x. 23 ff.

V. A collection of sayings in ch. xviii., which are more loosely connected than any of the preceding, and of which but few are found in Luke ix., xv., xvii.

VI. A polemic discourse against the Pharisees, ch. xxiii., to which Lk. xi., xiii., xiv., xx. furnishes scattered parallels.

VII. The discourses on the last things, chs. xxiv., xxv., in which, to the principal portion, borrowed from Mark (in Lk. xxi.), there are added several passages, some peculiar to this Gospel, others found also in Lk. xii., xvii., xix.

Most of these groups are outwardly separated from the material surrounding them by the recurring formula *καὶ ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους*, or the like, at the close (vii. 28 ; xi. 1 ; xiii. 53 ; xix. 1 ; xxvi. 1), as well as by introductions as a rule somewhat vague.

The careful consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion :—

(1) The author of the Third Gospel did not use the First as a source, disarranging and selecting from it.

(2) The author of the First did not obtain the discourses here presented in a coherent form from a writing in which they existed in a wholly detached and scattered form ; in many places the traces of the bringing together and consecutive arrangement of matter related but not originally connected are quite evident.

(3) The placing of each group in its present position is in no case due to a chronological or other inner necessity ; on the contrary, different phenomena bear witness to the opposite ; much has a more appropriate place in Luke ; the similarity in subject explains the connection, but does not give a true picture of the wisdom of Jesus in his teaching (especially V.).

(4) Nos. III. and V. have parallels in Mk. iii. 22 ff., ix. 33 ff., also IV. and VII. in Mk. iv. and xiii., but not complete. The parallels to I., II., VI., in Mark are unimportant.

The series of miracles inserted between the groups of discourses also appear to be connected from the point of view of analogy, certainly not according to any chronological plan. In chs. viii., ix., the miracles are chiefly introduced as proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus. The section closes with a passage (ix. 35-38) peculiar to Matthew, which forms a natural transition to ch. x. Then follows, first, the exposition, with the supplement of the Baptist, and the first clear intimation of the personal rank of Jesus, from which, in ch. xii., the record immediately passes over into polemics and conflict. Next comes the collection of parables of the Kingdom of God, giving, so to speak, the theoretical truth which lay at the foundation of this controversy and which again leads to controversy, xiii. 53 ff. This plan cannot be traced plainly farther, which falls in with the fact that from Mt. xiv. 1 on the order of Mark is followed without variation. The fact that even under this plan, which requires so much transposition, there are still some sections consecutive in Mark which are so in Matthew also (Mt. ix. 1-17 ; viii. 23-34 ; xii. 1-50 with amplifications) is further evidence of dependence, while the accidental forgetting of Mk. i. 21-28 is nothing against it.

How very important it is to have regard to the didactic plan in judging of the composition of the First Gospel is further evident :—

(1) From the quotations from the O. T., which in this very transposed first part are inserted at very definite places, at the close of sections ; see especially viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 35, but frequent throughout.

(2) From the mention of circumstances which, historically considered, have no place in this Gospel ; see the following section, second note.—Nevertheless, to regard the book, by means of a painfully carried through and violent combination of single scattered elements, as an intended paral-

lel to the Pentateuch (Delitzsch, *Unterss. über die kanon. Evv.*, 1853) is petty extravagance and puts an end to all the authority of simple narration.

That our First Gospel arose from two principal sources, the collection of sayings and the Gospel of Mark, is also evident from the repetition of the same words of Jesus in two places : *e. g.*, v. 29 f. and xviii. 8 f., the latter from Mk. ix. 43 f. — Mt. v. 31 and xix. 9, the latter from Mk. x. 11. — Mt. x. 38 f. and xvi. 24 f., the latter from Mk. viii. 34 f. — Mt. xxiii. 11 and xx. 26, the latter from Mk. x. 43. — Mt. x. 22 and xxiv. 9, 13, the latter from Mk. xiii. 13. — Mt. xxv. 31 and xvi. 27, the latter from Mk. viii. 38. — Mt. xii. 38 and xvi. 1, the latter from Mk. viii. 11. Similar parallels, though not so striking, are found in great numbers, sometimes where Matthew has the same saying twice without parallel in Mark, *e. g.*, vii. 17 ff., and xii. 33 ff. ; or again where the parallel in Mark is not found in the corresponding place, Mt. x. 21, 26, 42 ; Mk. iv. 22 ; ix. 41 ; xiii. 12 ; or finally where the two cases coincide, Mt. xiii. 12, xxv. 29 and Mk. iv. 25.

193. The great preference which its rich contributions from the instructions of Jesus has assured to this Gospel has caused the fact to be overlooked for the most part that in its external arrangement of the events and in its chronology it has left very much to be desired. It is certainly, notwithstanding the diversity of its elements, ruled throughout by the same idea ; but this idea needed, in order to make itself effective, not so much the chronological setting forth of a progressive development of the history as the impressions which the history was adapted to produce by the different aspects of its character and contents.

It is therefore impossible to comprehend why, in the preparation of all Harmonies thus far, so much and so predominant respect has been had to the order of Matthew. Granted that Luke was unable to establish any chronology, yet he at least had the purpose so to do, and more than this his order coincides almost throughout with that of Mark ; consequently, if one makes Luke his foundation, but a single text, and that the very one which is probably chronologically the least orderly of all, is brought into partial confusion. Differently Schlichthorst (§ 179), who does not number Matthew with the Synoptists at all.

In Mt. x. 1 f. the twelve Apostles are introduced, though nothing has yet been said of their being chosen. In xvi. 17 the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah comes in as something noteworthy and unexpected ; yet it is already presupposed in v. 11, vii. 21, xiv. 33, etc. — Ch. viii. 10 stands at the very beginning of the history. — ix. 27 appears to be the same narrative as xx. 30 ; ix. 32 as xii. 22 ; xii. 38 as xvi. 1 ; xiv. 13 as xv. 32. — That the groups of discourses are evidence against a chronological point of view, see § 192.

The unity of the work of editing is shown by the continual appeal to fulfilled prophecies (§ 194), which is a characteristic peculiarity of this Gospel ; and especially by the use of certain expressions : *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, 32 times, in all parts, both discourses and narratives, with and without parallel passages, and never found in Mark and Luke ; *ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* or *οὐράνιος*, 22 times, elsewhere only in Mk. xi. 25, to which there is nothing corresponding in Matthew ; *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν* almost regularly with quotations, never in the other Evangelists ; *πορευθεὶς* pleonastically, frequent (also in Luke), never in Mark ; *τότε* as connective in narration, very frequent, never in Mark, very seldom in Luke. Matthew and Mark write *ἱεροσόλυμα*,

Luke Ἱερουσαλήμ; Matthew and Luke very often have καὶ ἰδοὺ, Mark only once. Words which occur only in Matthew: μαλακία, sickness; μαθητεῖν; διστάζειν, to doubt; ὁ πονηρός, the devil (διάβολος occurs also in Luke, in Mark only σατανᾶς); συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος; ἔθνικοί; ἀναχωρεῖν (in Mark only once); συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν (in Mark ποιεῖν), etc., all frequently and in all portions of the work.

Among the peculiar characteristics of Matthew is also to be reckoned his custom of beginning the different sections with chronological formulas, by which the whole is bound together into an externally continuous narrative and the gaps are less noticeable (τότε, ἐκεῖθεν, εὐθέως, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, etc.); Luke, on the contrary, more often has quite indefinite forms of introduction, which establish no connection whatever, but rather give a disconnected, isolated character (ἐγένετο, ἐν μᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἦν δὲ with a participle, καὶ ἔλεγε, etc.); which, rather shows, however, greater carefulness on the part of the latter.

194. This Gospel indicates its special aim clearly enough by its frequent appeal to Old Testament prophecies, which, having found their fulfillment in Jesus of Nazareth, demanded his recognition as the promised Messiah; an aim in pursuance of which the historical element again comes into greater prominence as compared with the doctrinal contents presented in the discourses. Beside this the view has often been advanced that the book essentially and plainly represents and advocates the views and tendencies of Palestinian Jewish Christianity. There certainly can be adduced in favor of this opinion not only plausible but actually cogent evidence, since a particular, indeed a local Galilean, origin can be proved, if not for the writing yet certainly for the narrative. But this view, although so acutely conceived, is surely one-sided. For the words of Jesus adduced, which constitute the chief part of the dogmatic basis of the book, are certainly not selected on this principle, but overtop it in a hundred places, and thus bear the stronger testimony to the fidelity of tradition.

To suppose above and beyond this general design a special one, founded in local relations (*e. g.*, to combat a false circular of the Sanhedrin, which is read out of Mt. xxviii. 15 — cf. Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, ch. 108 — Aberle, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1859, IV.), is altogether aside from the natural impression.

As proofs of the Jewish Christian tendency of the First Gospel (especially in comparison with Luke) are adduced: the genealogy of Jesus, i. 1 (cf. Lk. iii. 38), only from Abraham; the silence respecting the seventy disciples as representatives of all nations, while the twelve Apostles represent only Israel; the Parousia represented as to come before the Gospel had been preached outside of Palestine, x. 23; the Samaritans only mentioned to be excluded, x. 5, cf. xv. 24, vii. 6; the first discourse of Jesus, with its declaration of the inviolability of the Law, v. 17 f.; cf. also xi. 13 with Lk. xvi. 16, the former breaking off the point of the thought; the calling of the Gentiles, xxii. 11 f., connected with a condition which Luke, ch. xiv., omits; the sacredness of the Sabbath carried to the extreme, xxiv. 20; Peter expressly called the first Apostle (x. 2) and the rock upon which the Church is built (xvi. 17 f.); the declaration of Jesus about the temple, xxvi. 61, represented as a false invention of his enemies; the eschatology wholly Jewish, xvi. 28, cf. Lk. ix. 27. But especially cf. Mt. xxiv. with Lk. xxi.

Nevertheless it is to be maintained that no such tendency is consciously followed out by the author, nor is the history colored in the interests of party. — The idea of universality is plainly expressed, xxiv. 14, xxviii. 19, without the addition of Judaistic conditions; the exclusion of Israel in favor of the Gentiles appears in history, viii. 12, in parable, xx. 1 ff., xxi. 28, 33, and even in the Baptist, iii. 9. The value of the Law is made to lie in the religious and moral element even more expressly than in Luke; cf. xxii. 40 with Lk. x. 26; xxiii. 33 with Lk. xi. 42. Indeed the fundamental principles of the so-called Pauline tendency are not wanting even here, in the recorded discourses of Jesus, ix. 16 f., xii. 8, xiii. 31 f. The first to acknowledge Christ are the Gentiles, ii. 1 ff., not the Jews, as in Lk. ii. 11 ff.

The Gospel according to Matthew, as now extant, is not, therefore, a partisan writing, but a compilation, in which the author has faithfully and industriously collected the material of the history from the sources accessible to him. So far as the material exhibits in its details the coloring of a particular religious point of view, this coloring was already in it before it was used in this work, and was not the ground of its acceptance or rejection.

A greater number of O. T. quotations than in the other Gospels: i. 23; ii. 6, 15, 18, 23; iii. 3; iv. 14; viii. 17; ix. 13; xii. 7, 17, 40; xiii. 14, 35; xv. 8; xxi. 5, 16, 42; xxiv. 15; xxvi. 31; xxvii. 9.

G. A. Fort, *Comparaison de Matthieu et de Luc au point de vue de la tendance dogmatique*, Str. 1845; my *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 617 ff. (3d ed. 344 ff.) [E. tr. II. 311]; *La doctrine des synoptiques, d'après Baur*, in the *Strassb. Revue*, 1865. Other preliminary studies and contributions to the theological characterization of the Synoptists are given by (C. H. L. Pölitiz) *Das Urchristenthum*, Danzig, 1804, Pt. I.; J. G. Herder, *Vom Erlöser d. Menschen nach den drei ersten Evv.*, 1796; *Explicatio locc. Matth. et Luc. doctrinam de Messia illustrantium*, J. 1801; Schneckenburger, *Ueber die Gottheit Chr. nach d. synopt. Evv.*, in the *Studien*, 1829, II.; L. A. Sabatier, *La personne de J. C. dans le trois premiers év.*, Toul. 1863; H. W. Weiffenbach, *Jesu dignitas in regno cæl. secundum synopt.*, Giess. 1868; A. Kober, in the *Strassb. Revue*, 1867; S. Hoekstra, in the *Leidner Zeitschr.*, 1871; A. Wittmann, *Le dogme du péché selon les év.*, Str. 1842; A. Grotz, *La notion de la foi d'après les év. syn.*, Str. 1850; F. H. Meyer, *La foi dans les synoptiques*, Mont. 1863; E. Coquerel, *Le dogme du péché d'après les év. syn.*, Paris, 1856.

195. Considered as to its contents, then, this our present First Gospel has as much claim to trustworthiness as the others, and with respect to the discourses of Jesus, as has been said, if it does not always have the preference over all the others, it certainly does not fall behind any. But that the events as we have them are related by an eye-witness, by one of the twelve, can no longer be asserted with the same positiveness as formerly. Formerly the comparison in this respect of the First Gospel with the Fourth, that of John, since it necessarily excluded one of the two authors from the number of the immediate participants in the history, was apt to be unfavorable to Matthew; but even to-day, when one might be inclined to come rather to the opposite conclusion, the same judgment will be forced upon him, if he is obliged to admit that there is much found here which places the author upon precisely the same basis with writers who draw from tradition, having themselves had no part in the events.

The calling of the Apostle Matthew is related in Mt. ix. 9. In place of this Mark, ii. 13 ff. and Luke, v. 27 ff., have the calling of a publican, Levi, whom the former, in particular, seems to know more intimately, in his family relations. If the First Gospel was written by the man himself whose name it bears, and consequently surely early enough, why do the others alter the name, and choose the less familiar one? Besides, the connection of vss. 9 and 10 cannot possibly be by an eye-witness. Cf. against it Lk. v. 29 (cf. § 170).

Confinement of the activity of Jesus to Galilee; purification of the temple at the first (Jn. ii.) or last (Mt. xxi.) journey to Jerusalem; this journey related in Jn. x.-xii. differently, with the raising of Lazarus; calling of the first disciples, Jn. i. and Mt. iv. 18 ff.; Jn. iii. 23 ff., cf. Mt. iv. 12; the two asses at the entrance, from a false interpretation of a prophetic passage; the Last Supper a paschal meal or not? The pointing out of Judas as the traitor, xxvi. 23 ff., contrary to Jn. xiii. 26 ff. He knows nothing of appearances of the risen Saviour to the disciples at Jerusalem, and xxviii. 10, 16, cf. xxvi. 32 excludes them. Lack of all correct chronological order, § 193. Others have taken exception also to xv. 32 f., xvii. 24 f., xxvii. 52, 62 f.

Some of these points show simply that one or the other of the narrators was not an eye-witness, not necessarily Matthew, but others are directly against him. We may also appeal to a comparison with Mark, which must almost everywhere (in accounts of facts) give the preference to that Gospel. If the First Gospel is dependent upon the Second, this argument becomes in the highest degree significant.

D. Schulz, *Bemerkk. über den Verf. Matth. (Abendmahl*, 1st ed. p. 302 ff.); Theile, in Winer's *Journal*, II. 179; Heydenreich, *ibidem*, III. 129; Bengel's *Archiv*, VI. 572; Lücke, in the *Studien*, 1833, II. 497 ff.; Siefert (§ 180); R. E. Klenner, *Recentiores de authentia ev. Matth. quæstiones*, Gött. 1832; Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 23 ff.; idem, *Ursprung des ersten kan. Ev.*, Stuttg. 1834; also in the *Würtemb. Studien*, VI. 1; F. H. Kern, *Ursprung des Ev. Matth.*, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1834, II.; 1835, II.; H. Olshausen, *Apost. origo ev. Matth.*, Erl. 1835 ff.; Schlichthorst (§ 179); Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, I. 448; H. A. Schott, *Authent. des Ev. Matth.*, L. 1837; F. Köster, *Compos. des Matth. Ev.*, in the *Kieler Mitarbeiten*, I. 1; G. C. A. Harless, *De compos. ev. quod Matthæo tribuitur*, Erl. 1842; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. 241 ff.; Delitzsch, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1850, III.; A. Réville, *Études critiques sur l'év. selon S. Matthieu*, Leid. 1862; C. E. Luthardt, *De compositione ev. Matthæi*, L. 1861; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.* [1865, I.], 1867, III., IV.; 1868, I. — J. H. Scholten, *Das älteste Ev., krit. Untersuchung der Zusammensetzung, des wechselseitigen Verhältnisses, Werthes, und Ursprungs der Evv. nach Matth. u. Marcus*, translated from the Dutch (1868) by E. R. Redepenning, Elb. 1869; H. P. Berlage, in the *Leidner Theol. Zeitschr.*, 1869, p. 291 ff.; H. U. Meijboom (*Gesch. der Logia-Hypothese*), *ibidem*, 1872; B. Weiss, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1864, I.; 1865, II. [idem, *Das Matth. Evang. u. seine Lucas-Parallelen erklärt*, Halle, 1876]. — For the literature on particular points we refer to Hase, *Leben Jesu*.

196. The problem of the age of this work is no longer a simple one when different constituents have once been pointed out in it. The fact that subsequent writers knew nothing whatever of them shows the imperfect character of their information. It is certain that some of the discourses of Jesus, as they are here found, were written down before the destruction of Jerusalem, and tolerably shortly before. From this it may perhaps be inferred that the extant revision was

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made at the earliest in the last quarter of the first century. It is certainly no mere translation from a Hebrew original; an idea which has simply grown up out of a series of historical misunderstandings and theological prepossessions.

The chronological data are few and very incorrect. The surest (if the dependence upon Mark did not interfere) would be from xxiv. 29, where by εἰθέως the end of the world is brought into immediate connection with the destruction of Jerusalem, which is, however, very confusedly described (cf. on the contrary, Lk. xxi. 20, 24, 25); from xxiv. 15, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω, which is a definite hint of warning, surely immediately applicable in life; finally from x. 23; xvi. 28. On the contrary, xxiii. 35 is not available for this purpose; the Zachariah meant is an earlier one; the mention of the later one (Joseph., *B. J.*, IV. 6, 4) would not, it is true, be surprising, but would certainly have been introduced as prophecy in the future tense, and only in this case could furnish a chronological datum.

Respecting the date of the last revision there is no evidence whatever to be found. Ch. xxvii. 8 and xxviii. 15 are too indefinite, and do not bring us down late enough. It is to be kept continually in mind that Papias was not yet acquainted with our Matthew, and consequently it cannot have been at that time very widely circulated. Ch. xviii. 17 presupposes a regular church discipline (although in a different sense from that in which the term is used to-day), but this may have been in existence very early. The juxtaposition of sayings of quite different complexion without offense shows that opinions on these points had become divided in the churches, but also that the purely historical interest had become dominant over that of the theological parties of the first period. Ch. iii. 1 is far from being history, since by ἡμέραι ἐκείναι the birth and baptism of Jesus are brought directly together. This judgment will be rather confirmed than shaken if one prefers to see in this formula the trace of the joining together of different older revisions. Again, the evident contradiction between the genealogy and the story of the birth reveals the (later) attempt not to allow the scattered elements of the legend, even though heterogeneous, to be lost.

The oldest opinion in the Church (Iren. iii. 1), that Matthew wrote when Peter and Paul together founded the church at Rome, is its own criticism. Later ones, found especially in the scholia of the manuscripts, have still less value. Aberle, *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1858, III., defends this tradition by hazardous interpretation.

That there was a Hebrew gospel, which bore the name of Matthew and was very old, was known, and critics were obliged to accept the testimony of witnesses respecting the name, since these knew nothing of a Greek original. While Catholics have been holding fast to this opinion on the testimony of the Church Fathers, and Protestants either ignoring or denying it, not so much on critical grounds as in the interests of dogma, modern critics have so combined the two views as to hold that Matthew himself translated his own work. Cf. § 198. The truth is, however, that both these opposite opinions are correct, — that the Apostle Matthew composed a Hebrew writing, and that our Gospel of Matthew was edited in Greek and proceeded at least in some parts (mediately?) from this Hebrew original. — C. Sonntag, *De lingua Matthæi*, Altd. 1666; G. P. Mörl, *De lingua authent. Matth.*, in Iken's *Thesaurus*, II. 57; Happach, *Hosea*, p. 49; A. G. Masch, *Von der Grundsprache des Ev. Matth.*, Halle, 1753; J. F. Bahrdrf, *De Ev. Matth. hebraico*, L. 1764; Wahl, in the *Mag.*, II. 57; F. W. Schubert, *Sermo quo Ev. Matth. conscript. fuit*, Gött. 1810; J. T. Buslav, *De ling. originali Ev. Matth.* Br. 1826; Nestor Condouzorgue, *Sur le texte originale*, etc., Str. 1831; T. C. A. Harless, *Fabula de Matth. syro-chald. conscripto*, Erl. 1841; E. Peschier, *Sur la langue*, etc., Mont. 1847; S. Bérard, *Sur la langue*, etc., Str. 1858; S.

P. Tregelles and W. Lindsay, in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, V. [Jan. 1850]. See also Neudecker, p. 189 f. [M. Stuart, in *Bibl. Repos.*, July and Oct., 1838; the opposite view, Norton, *Genuineness*, 2d ed. 1846, I. Additional notes, p. xlv. ff.; W. L. Alexander, Kitto's *Journ. of Sac. Lit.*, Apr. 1850, against Tregelles' essay in the same magazine; A. Roberts, *On the Original Lang. of Matthew's Gospel*, in his *Discussions on the Gospels*, 2d ed. 1864.]

197. It cannot be doubted that there were in the possession of the early Christian churches still other gospel histories beside those now known, no longer extant, which were at once similar in character to these, and yet distinct from them. The information we have of such writings points chiefly to the closely associated circle of the Jewish Christians in Palestine and the surrounding regions, among whom the historical literature seems to have flourished most luxuriantly. Although differing in scope, contents, and language, all writings of this character known to the ancients may perhaps be referred to two original documents possibly not wholly independent of each other. Taking into consideration the manifold vicissitudes to which they have been subject, it becomes a plausible conjecture that either through their sources or in some other way they may have been closely connected with our Gospel of Matthew, and, if this connection is to be regarded as a relation of immediate dependence, that they followed rather than preceded it.

Literature: R. Simon, *Hist. du texte du N. T.*, chs. 7, 8; Mill, *Prolegomena in N. T.*; Eichhorn, Schmidt, Schott, De Wette, Neudecker, in their *Einleitungen*. Gieseler (§ 181); Paulus, *Theol. Conservatorium*, Pt. I. 108; J. E. C. Schmidt, *Entwurf einer bestimmtern Unterscheidung verschiedener verloren gegangener Evv.* (Henke's *Mag.*, IV. 576); F. C. T. Emmerich, *De evv. secundum Hebræos, Ægyptios, et Justin.*, Arg. 1807; Schütz, *De evv. quæ ante canonica in usu fuerunt*, Reg. 1812; Credner, *Die Evv. der Petriner und Judenchristen* (Beiträge, Pt. I.), 1832; Schwegler, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1843, III.; Kirchofer, *Quellensammlung zur Gesch. des Kanons*, p. 448 ff.; Olshausen, *Echtheit der Evv.*, passim; D. Schulz, in the *Studien*, 1829, III. 579 ff.; M. Nicolas, *Études sur les év. apocryphes*, P. 1866.

198. It is therefore nothing strange if we find in ancient writers mention of a Hebrew gospel, or, as it is also called, a Gospel according to the Hebrews. What particular name it may have borne among the Syro-Chaldaic speaking Christians themselves, who were its readers, is unknown to us, but it is more than probable that it was ascribed to the Apostle Matthew. At least scholars long held it to be the original of the Greek Gospel of Matthew. Traces of its existence and use are found as late as the fifth century, but accounts of it are so discordant as to warrant the conjecture that it may have undergone all sorts of changes, even as to the theological views which it may have been intended to support. But it is certain, even aside from these accounts, that the foreign language in which

it was written and the prejudice in favor of a close relationship to the Greek text stood in the way of a greater regard for the book on the part of the Church at the time when it might have been preserved from further corruption.

That the patristic testimonies (Iren. iii. 1 ; Pantænus, in Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 10 ; Origen, in Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 25 ; Cyril, *Catech.*, 14, etc.), as to the *Εὐαγγέλιον καθ' Ἑβραίων* (τὸ ἑβραϊκόν, also called the Gospel of the Nazarenes, Ebionites, Twelve Apostles, etc.) are not sufficient for the knowledge of it is evident : —

(1.) None of them are from personal knowledge until that of Jerome, and he at first shares in the general opinion (*De viris illis.*, ch. ii.) : *Matthæus ev. hebraicis literis verbisque composuit. Quod quis postea in græcum transtulerit non satis certum est.* The original (*ipsum hebraicum*) was still extant in the library at Cæsarea. He himself copied it at Berea and translated it into both languages (*De viris illis.*, ch. ii. ; *Ad Matth.*, xii. 13 ; *Contra Pelagium*, iii. 2), but at once abandoned the traditional opinion (*vocatur a plerisque Matth. authenticum — ut plerique autumant — Ad Mich.*, vii. 6 : *qui crediderit evangelio cett.*), because he saw too plainly the diversity by the side of the similarity.

(2.) The extracts in Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others naturally make prominent only the divergences from the canonical text and probably do not mention by any means everything of that kind which might have been cited. But there was doubtless much more that was in agreement.

(3.) How far back the testimony goes it is difficult to say. It is conjectured by Jerome, *De viris illis.*, ch. xvi., that Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, iii., quotes from the *Ev. Hebr.* Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 36, is more reserved : οὐκ οἶδα ὅπόθεν κτλ. Just as little does Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 39, testify to Papias, who may have commented upon uncanonical histories (from tradition ?). Hegesippus (c. 160 ; Euseb. iv. 22) drew from the Gospel of the Hebrews καὶ τοῦ συριακοῦ, as if the latter were a distinct work (see § 199). But the parties of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, who apparently used the Gospel of the Hebrews as their chief document (Euseb. iii. 25, 37 ; Epiphan., *Hær.*, xxix. 9 ; xxx. *passim*), were not of late origin, but were simply particular churches, distinguished from others more by language than by doctrine, and doubtless as old as the development of the historical literature.

(4.) A translation from the Greek is not to be supposed. The very idea of the Holy Spirit as the mother of Christ (רוּחַ קדשׁ fem. see Origen on John, *Opp.*, IV. 63 ; Jerome, *In Mich.*, vii. 6) points to Hebrew conception. The quotations were directly from the original text (Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, ch. iii.). When Jerome, *Ad Matth.*, xxvii. 16, states that the *Ev. Hebr.* explains the name of Barabbas by *filius magistri eorum*, this is not a proof of a false translation from the Greek (בֶּר רַבְּהוֹן for בֶּר אֲבָא according to De Wette), but that Jerome was himself a tyro in Hebrew, and that the Hebrew gospel wrote correctly בֶּר רַבָּן i. e., son of the Rabbin (= בֶּר רַבָּא). Moreover this question is of no importance here. Granting that this gospel did have a Greek original, its chronological, psychological, and material relation to the remaining extant ones is not essentially altered.

199. Beside this Hebrew Gospel there must have been a very similar one in Greek, which was called by those who used it the Gospel of Peter. The numerous fragments of it still extant sufficiently show its inner relationship with our Gospels, but at the same time its independence and originality. That accounts of it do not altogether agree is easily explained on

the supposition that its form and name must have changed more than once. Indeed, these changes may have gone on longer from the fact that the protecting favor of public recognition departed from this work as others came to claim it. From one or another revision of it, doubtless, came those quotations, varying from our canonical text, which are found in great numbers in Justin and the Clementines, and may have occurred in other writers of the second and third centuries.

Several ancient writers make definite mention of a Gospel of Peter, *e. g.*, Origen, *Ad Matth.*, xiii. 54; Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 3, 25. The latter quotes (vi. 12) a fragment from Serapion, bishop of Antioch (c. 190) upon it; he considered it Docetic: τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ ὁρθοῦ λόγου τοῦ σωτῆρος, τινὰ δὲ προσδιεσταλμένα. Jerome, *Cat.*, ch. i; xli; Theodoret, *Hæret. fab.*, ii. 2. (The Nazarenes honor Christ as a virtuous man, τῷ καλουμένῳ κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίῳ κεκρημένοι, while Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxix. 9, calls it the Gospel of Matthew.) In Justin also (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, 106, p. 333) a trace of it would be found, did not the text give room for a critical conjecture: Christ gave the sons of Zebedee a surname and likewise μετωνομακέναι Πέτρον, ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον καὶ τοῦτο. Since the Gospels are regularly called ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων in Justin, and the name of a separate book never occurs, αὐτῶν is probably the true reading here (according to others the Gospel of Peter means our Mark [iii. 16, 17]).

Moreover it is in the highest degree doubtful whether the references which occur in the Fathers to the Gospel of the Hebrews (§ 198) actually mean a Gospel in the Hebrew language, or rather one in Greek, Jewish Christian, and in so far different from the canonical Matthew. In the passage of Eusebius on Hegesippus (§ 198) this seems to be manifest; cf. also iii. 39. Again, the words of Origen: ἐὰν προσέταί τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβρ., *Opp.*, IV. 63; also the statement that according to this Gospel the Baptist lived on honeycomb (ἐγκρίς instead of ἀκρίς); but especially all that Epiphanius says of it. The latter also distinguishes several recensions of the Hebrew Gospel (πληρέστατον—οὐχ ὅλον πληρέστατον ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένον), the last omitting the genealogy and narrative of the birth, beyond which fact his knowledge scarcely went.

The name is nothing to the point in this connection. We are establishing simply the existence of a Jewish Christian Gospel in the Greek language, certainly very ancient, which was probably modified in many ways, still in use in the fifth century. Under this limitation, or rather with this extension of the idea, it is doubtless to be assumed that the quotations of Justin and the Clementines, uncanonical but probably derived from written sources, came from the Gospel of Peter. We might regard them unhesitatingly as quotations from memory, or as drawn from oral tradition, since even the use of our canonical Gospels, especially Matthew, where it cannot be denied, is but seldom accurate, were it not that Justin himself appeals to written Gospels, and as complete sources (*Apol. I.*, 33, οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος). Again, Tatian, his pupil, prepared a Gospel Harmony, *Διὰ τεσσάρων* (therefore from four sources?) which did not, however, agree with the canonical text. True, Theodoret, *Hæret. fab.*, i. 20, calls it only an emasculated work, because it left out the human descent of Jesus; but Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlvi. 1, identifies it with the Hebrew Gospel. Again, Eusebius, who probably gave it this name (iv. 29), seems either not to be acquainted with it or at least not to regard it as a work of similar character to his own. The preface of Victor of Capua to his translation of the Ammonian Harmony calls the work of Tatian *Diapente* (yet see Fabricius, *Cod.*

apocr., I. 378), which would imply a fifth source. The example of the now so-called German Tatian (§ 463), shows how easily names and books may come together without ground. Must historical knowledge have been in a better state in the Syrian schools a thousand years after Tatian? And yet there are those who seek there evidence to set against the adverse judgment of the ancient writers. (A thorough discussion of the question has recently appeared in the work of an anonymous English writer: *Supernatural Religion*, Lond. 1874, 2 vols. [7th ed. 1879].)

The most accurate and convenient collection of all the extant fragments and reminiscences from the realm of the uncanonical gospel literature is to be found in the *Harmony of Anger*, cited in § 179.

More special literature on the subjects discussed in §§ 197-199: C. F. Weber, *Neue Unters. über das Alter und Ansehn des Ev. der Hebr.*, Tüb. 1806; idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kanons*, p. 1 ff.; Mayerhoff, *Einl. in die petr. Schriften*, p. 234 ff.; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. 199, 217, 234; F. Franck, in the *Studien*, 1848, II.; Semler, *Progr. acad.*, p. 344 ff.; Engelstoft, *Hieron.*, p. 121 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Das Ev. der Hebräer*, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1863, IV. [E. B. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews. Its fragments translated and annotated.* Lond. 1879.]

J. D. Heilmann, *De ev. Matthæi ap. Barnabam reperto* (Opp., I. 88); J. E. C. Schmidt, *Ueber das Ev. der 12 App.* (Exeg. Bibl., I. 459).

P. A. Gratz, *Unterss. über Justin's ap. Denkw.*, Stuttg. 1814; G. B. Winer, *Justinum canonicis evv. usum esse ostenditur*, L. 1819; C. Semisch, *Die apost. Denkw. des Justinus*, Hamb. 1848. Also: Paulus, *Abhh.*, p. 1 ff., and *Conservatorium*, I. 52; Stroth, in *Eichhorn's Repert.*, I. 1; C. M. Fritz, *De chr. relig. originibus* (Arg. 1786), p. 46 ff.; Mynster, *Opp.*, p. 1 ff.; Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 92 ff.; Bindemann, in the *Heidelberg Studien*, 1842, II.; Frank, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, 1846, I.; Hilgenfeld, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, III., IV.; 1852, III.; idem, *Krit. Unterss. über d. Evv. Justins, der Clem. Homilien, und Marcions*, Halle, 1850; G. Volkmar, *Justin und sein Verhältniss zu unsern Evv.*, Z. 1853; F. Salles, *Justin Martyr a-t-il connu nos évangiles?* Toul. 1864.

On Tatian: Paulus, *Conserv.*, I. 121; Zahn, in *Keil's Analekten*, II. 1; Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 437; C. G. Semisch (*Tatiani diatessaron*, Br. 1856) rejects all uncanonical elements.

On the gospel quotations in the Clementine Homilies, see the literature cited under § 254 ff., and Frank, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, 1847, II.; Uhlhorn, *Clement.*, p. 111 ff.; Nicolas, in the *Strassb. Revue*, 1864, p. 361 ff.

200. Whether, in addition to the Gospels thus far distinguished and named, which indeed were in part themselves only different editions of a few original documents, there were still others, is a question which is differently answered. Our own opinion is that, toward the end of the first century, to those who had the opportunity of seeing many, their number might appear greater than it actually was, because their attention would naturally be first attracted by the easily noticeable diversity in scope, fullness, and expression, and they would allow to these points higher importance than to the probably still greater inner affinity. But it is just as conceivable that this observation and perception would arouse apprehension, or certainly suggest the necessity of settling the matter by comparative investigation, and thereby securing a firm basis for Christian instruction, without danger of error.

Lk. i. 1 ff. : ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν κτλ. . . . ἔδοξε καὶ μοι παρηκολουθηκῶτι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

That the πολλοί would not be accounted for by reference to our Matthew and Mark alone is self-evident. Just as certainly does the ἐπεχείρησαν, especially in connection with καὶ μοι, exclude the idea that the reference is solely to erroneous and deceptive accounts which were in existence but were now to be supplanted. Ἐπιχειρεῖν does certainly designate an attempt, possibly one not completely successful, but not a bad work or an evil design. A criticism, or we should rather say a necessity for renewed labor, is expressed in the very undertaking which is announced in these words ; the ground of this necessity is the establishment of everything (πᾶσι), not of something wholly new ; and this is to be done by carrying the investigation back to the original sources (ἀνωθεν), which implies that from the lack of such care (ἀκριβῶς) accounts had come to vary. Few passages of the N. T. have been explained in more different ways, in the interests of every conceivable system, than these four lines. Cf., among others, J. C. Schläger, *De dedicatione ev. Lucæ*, Hlm. 1728 ; H. A. Schott, *De proæmio Lucæ*, Jena, 1828 ; Crome, in the *Heidelb. Studien*, 1829, IV. 754 ; E. Kretschmar, in the *Sächsische Studien*, IV. 110 ; Thiersch, *Hist. Standpunkt*, etc., p. 162 ff. ; Aberle, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1863, I. ; W. Grimm, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1871, I.

201. Such a work was undertaken by a man who was strongly drawn to it by his interest in the matter, and who, by his connection with the Apostles, or at least with their immediate pupils, was probably placed in a condition to accomplish his task as well as it could be done in his time. This was the unknown author of our Third Gospel. He announces his history as a critical one, and informs us in his preface of the method which he followed in order to assure himself of the truth and chronological order of the events of which he had knowledge, and to obtain the material in proper fullness of detail. That this work was intended for the Church, and not alone for the private person to whom it is dedicated, is self-evident. It is proportionately the richest of the extant Gospels, and the one of the three most carefully worked out, although not upon any particular plan ; whether the latest may still be disputed, although much conspires to commend this view.

We may be permitted in the notes to the next following sections to use the name of Luke provisionally. The question of the author will be considered in § 211. A doubt as to whether it is the latest is only admissible in so far as we are unable to determine the date of the last recension of Matthew. The latest additions to Mark (§ 240) are not taken into account here.

S. G. Frisch, *Utrumque Lucæ Comment. non tam hist. simplicitatis quam artificiosæ tractationis indolem habere*, Freib. 1817, and in Rosenmüller's *Syll.*, I. ; J. Grimm, *Die Einheit des Lucas-Ev.*, Regb. 1863.

202. Furthermore, the author extended the field of the gospel history by following the account of the life of Jesus with a second of the early fortunes of the Church. In the design of the author the two parts form one whole, although they

may not both have been in his plan at the very outset, and the second may not have followed immediately upon the first. Yet they were subsequently wholly separated from each other and distinguished by special names. The name of one, the Apostolic History, or Acts of the Apostles, which, so far as literary testimony goes, was borne by the second book, is inappropriate, inasmuch as it arouses expectations with respect to the extent and completeness of the account which the author did not at all intend to gratify, and disguises the true aim of the work.

The preface of the Gospel (i. 2 : οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, and vs. 4 : περὶ ὧν κατηχήθη λόγων) has reference, however, only to the history of Jesus, as that which alone is fundamental and religiously important. We are justified, by the resumption of the history in Acts i. 4 ff., 13, and the undeniable discrepancy between Lk. xxiv. and Acts i. respecting the interval between the resurrection and the ascension, in assuming an intervening space of time before the writing of the Acts. (True, the great simplification of the text at the close of the Gospel in the most recent critical texts might be made use of to do away with this discrepancy.) The first book was doubtless issued by itself at first.

But the *πρῶτος λόγος*, Acts i. 1, and the name of Theophilus warrant the connection here maintained.

The question may arise whether the work, as the author planned it, was complete with these two books. The second book certainly closes unsatisfactorily to the reader. The ordinary explanation, that the work in this form brings the history down to the moment of composition, is certainly to be rejected ; § 207. It must remain undecided whether the author was interrupted in his work by external circumstances, perhaps his death ; or perhaps a portion has been lost ; or the author stood in a special relation to the church at Rome, which rendered it unnecessary to write more ; or the dominant theological aim of the narrative (§ 210) being fully satisfied by that which was said at the last, made a further account unnecessary ; or finally whether the editor came to the end of the document which he last followed (§§ 204, 211) and had no further material. Cf. beside all the Introductions, Commentaries, and Biographies of Paul, Wieseler, *Chronol.*, p. 398, and above, § 125 f.

It is inconceivable that at the time when the author wrote there was not more to be known of the beginnings of the Church. Evidently, therefore, the work had some other design than to give as much information as possible. The narrative itself betrays the gaps, *e. g.* ix. 1, 31. Much that is lacking here is supplied by the Epistles. The succeeding age, which desired only the gratification of its curiosity, found even these gaps for its advantage ; §§ 253, 261, 267.

Untenable, though ingeniously advocated, is the idea that the Acts were primarily a defense, a *mémoire à consulter* for the benefit of Paul in his trial at Rome (Aberle, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1855, II., cf. *ibidem*, 1863, I.). This theory postulates the composition of the work before A. D. 64, sees in the πολλοί of Lk. i. 1 writings of anti-Christian aims, and takes the patristic fables respecting Simon the Sorcerer for solid truth.

203. It is no longer matter of doubt that the author both knew and used written sources for the gospel history. Among those which were within his reach, the Gospel of Mark, al-

though not in the form in which we now have it, can be most certainly recognized. Beside this there may perhaps be distinguished two or three other original documents. But the use made of them was in no case mechanical; on the contrary the free treatment of the writer is everywhere easily recognizable, — in the connection of the different passages, in the care expended upon the style, and in the independent arrangement of the material. Also, the additions and emendations drawn from oral tradition are not seldom apparent, and this source is abundantly sufficient to account for the greater part of that which is peculiar to this author.

1. The assumption that the Second Gospel was one of the sources of the Third is founded upon the following considerations: —

(a.) The order of the sections is the same in both, which, in the absence of any internal necessity for the arrangement, is of itself conclusive evidence of the dependence of one upon the other. Those sections are not exceptions in which, instead of the narrative of Mark, Luke introduces a wholly different one elsewhere. The single actual exception includes but three verses, Lk. viii. 19–21, in which Mk. iii. 31 ff. is placed after iv. 34.

(b.) It has already been shown (§ 187) that those portions of the text of Luke which are wanting in Mark cannot be regarded as having been arbitrarily omitted by a later editor.

(c.) On the other hand there is wanting in Luke of the text of Mark, before the narrative of the passion (see below), nothing at all, with the exception of the long connected passage vi. 45–viii. 26 (§ 189); for Luke obtains the calling of the disciples, Mk. i. 16 ff., from another source (Lk. v. 1 ff.); so also the anointing, Mk. xiv. 3 ff.; Lk. vii. 36 ff. In the same way the substance of Mk. vi. 1 f. is found in Lk. iv. 24; of Mk. xii. 28 f. in Lk. x. 27; of Mk. iii. 20 ff. in Lk. xi. 15 f.; 15 f.; of Mk. ix. 42, 50, in Lk. xiv. 34, xvii. 1 f.; of Mk. x. 35 ff. in Lk. xxii. 25 f. In like manner at least the didactic contents of Mk. xi. 11 f. is included in Lk. xvii. 3 f., xiii. 6, and of Mk. x. 1 ff. in Lk. xvi. 18. At the most only a short parable, Mk. iv. 26, and the details of the death of the Baptist, Mk. vi. 14 ff., are all that could be mentioned. Substantially, therefore, the whole of Mark is included in Luke, although here and there altered in accordance with other sources.

(d.) Where Mark has matter which is wanting in Matthew Luke also has it (Mk. i. 21 ff., 33 ff.; iv. 21 ff.; xii. 41 ff.; also Mk. v. 18 f.; viii. 38; ix. 38; x. 15), and there are passages among them where the connection with what precedes appears to be purely arbitrary (*e. g.* Lk. viii. 16), or points directly to Mark (Lk. xx. 47; xxi. 1), or where Luke himself places differently the contents of what has been taken from Mark (xi. 33; xii. 2; cf. with viii. 16 f.).

(e.) Where all three can be compared the relationship between Mark and Luke is certainly the greater, whether they give the more complete accounts (the demoniacs at Gadara, Jairus, the blessing of the children, the blind men at Jericho), or Luke agrees with the briefer Mark (against Matthew, xii. 5 f., 33 ff.; xvi. 17 f., 27; xviii. 3 f.; xix. 28; xxi. 28 ff. Of Matth. xxiii. Luke has only the few lines of Mark), or agrees in details with him against Matthew (Levi, Matthew).

(f.) The Hebrew words carefully introduced by Mark (§ 189) are translated by Luke or omitted, not probably added by Mark to the text of Luke.

(g.) In many passages, expressions, and constructions, where Mark affords either the only or the closest parallel, the expression of Luke appears

to be improved both in perspicuity and in conciseness, *e. g.*, Lk. iv. 33, 35 ff., 41 ff.; v. 29, 32, 36; vi. 4, 13; viii. 16, 18, 31, 35, 37; ix. 31, 50; xviii. 27, 30; xix. 33, 45; xx. 3, 6, 20, 35 ff.; xxi. 1 ff.; especially also ix. 7-9. The Greek style is improved also, *e. g.*, Luke viii. 25; ix. 3, 14 ff., etc.

(h.) Lk. ix. 23 betrays a hasty omission of Mk. viii. 32 ff. — Lk. ix. 44 is probably intentionally more obscure than Mk. ix. 31, cf. Lk. xviii. 32. Mk. x. 31 is rightly omitted. — Cf. J. Lambrechts, *E sermonis narrationisque diversitate Marc. inter et Luc. hunc illius textu usum esse colligitur*, Leyd. 1863.

2. Our Gospel of Matthew was not one of the sources of Luke:—

(a.) The passages of Matthew which he has in common with Mark and which are lacking in Luke prove nothing at all, since they are to be estimated according to 1 (c.).

(b.) Of passages which Matthew alone has, the omission of ix. 27 ff. may certainly be assumed to be intentional, since the section is supplied by Lk. x. 2, xi. 14, xviii. 35; not so Mt. xvii. 24 ff., xx. 1 ff. Also compare here what has been adduced above, under 1 (e.), where Luke always stands by Mark, and omits most of Matthew. Cf. also Lk. ix. 1 ff., where only Mk. vi. 7 ff. is admitted, while the most of Mt. x. does not appear until later, and in a different connection, Lk. x.

(c.) In several passages Luke has a wholly different recension from Matthew, so that it is altogether impossible to suppose a knowledge of the latter on the part of the former. So, most of all, chs. i., ii., and the genealogy; also the parables of the feast and of the talents, the calling of the disciples, the anointing (that is to say, provided the two latter passages did not yet exist in the recension of Mark used by Luke).

(d.) On the passages in which all three are parallel see above, 1 (e.).

(e.) In the passages where Mark alone is deficient, Luke evidently has a different recension from Matthew (*e. g.*, the temptation, the centurion at Capernaum, the history and message of the Baptist; when carefully considered, even Lk. ix. 57 ff., xi. 14, where, along with considerable similarity, there is throughout noteworthy diversity).

3. Nor was the original document of Matthew, the collection of sayings represented in the groups of discourses, one of the sources of Luke, at least not in the form in which we know it through them. For, if this be the case:

(a.) They were entirely torn to pieces;

(b.) Their text was often changed;

(c.) In particular, they were very much mutilated. Of 107 verses of the Sermon on the Mount Luke has (externally considered, reserving alterations) 27 in ch. vi., 12 in ch. xi., 14 in ch. xii., 3 in ch. xiii., 1 in ch. xiv., 3 in ch. xvi., and 47 not at all. The 40 verses of the tenth chapter of Matthew are distributed in Luke through chs. vi., ix., x., xii., xiv., xvii., xxi., and several are omitted. So with all the other discourses. In the text itself, along with many verbal parallels, which, however, of themselves show only the trustiness of tradition, not necessarily a relation of dependence, there is great diversity; Mt. v. 15, 18, 25, 44 ff.; vi. 23, 26; vii. 1 ff., 9 ff., 12 ff., 16 ff., 21 ff.; also in the sense, through alteration of the context, v. 13 ff., vi. 19, or of the connection, v. 3, 6, 32, 40, 48; vii. 11; xviii. 15, 21; x. 27, etc.; and where the similarity is greater, the passages are often found in Mark also, who was in that case the real source (the sower; Lk. ix. 5, 23 ff.; xii. 11 ff., and many others).

4. For assuming one or more sources (History of the Birth — Genealogy) for ch. i.-iv. 13, there are reasons to be found in the nature of the case, in the more Hebraistic coloring of the style, and also in the fact that most of what Matthew has upon these subjects is so totally different; a fact which is more difficult to explain upon the supposition of a still wholly free oral tradition than if there were histories early fixed in written form, which, however, were not, probably, properly subjects of instruction; if not two, surely one.

5. Whether we are to assume a written source for all other passages peculiar to Luke (iv. 14-30 ; v. 1-11 ; ch. vii. ; ix. 51-xviii. 14 ; xix. 1-28) must remain undecided. In favor of such an assumption are the amount of the material, the circumstance that most of it is not so much addition as substitution, and that the greater part of it is together in a single mass ; against it, the fact that very much of this very mass is much more obviously in complete confusion (as if a collection of material which could not be brought in anywhere else), than is the case, *e. g.*, with chs. iv.-ix. or chs. xix. ff. On chs. x.-xviii. see especially §§ 188, 206. The more evident the silence of Luke as to the activity of Jesus in Judea, and the confused character of his so-called account of Jesus' tours, the more improbable is his use of a connected written source on the last (and only ?) journey. It is precisely in connection with this last great division that we think most naturally of oral sources.

6. Very probably Luke had an authority of his own (§ 188) for the whole history of the passion and resurrection ; the diversity of all kinds in additions, omissions, transpositions, as well as the absence of parallelism in expression even where the accounts agree in substance, is so constant that one would need to cite nearly every verse. But it may be doubted whether, in view of the ease of obtaining oral information on this portion of the history, there is any necessity of supposing a written source.

7. But even where we may confidently assume that Luke had a written document before him his manner is free and untrammelled ; cf. iv. 38 f. ; v. 18 f. ; vi. 11 ; viii. 1 ff., 19, 43, 45 ff. ; ix. 32 f. ; xi. 21 f. ; xviii. 31 f. : xix. 37 f., 47 f. ; xxii. 4 ff. with the parallel passages. He adds circumstances, vi. 1, 6 ; ix. 38 ; xviii. 18, etc., and takes especial pains to round off the narrative : iii. 1, 2, 18 ff. ; v. 12, 15 f., 26, 36 ; vi. 8 ; vii. 1, 21 ; xviii. 36 f. ; xx. 39 f. ; xxii. 3, and many others. The idea that Luke merely joined together a great number of small written compositions without properly working them over (Schleiermacher, § 184) we are obliged to reject, because certain linguistic peculiarities (§ 204) occur in all parts.

Cf. in general : H. P. Sextro, *Super inspiratione Lucæ*, Gött. 1786 ; B. L. Königsmann, *De fontibus commentariorum Lucæ*, 1798 (in Pott's *Sylloge*, III.) ; Ammon (§ 180) ; H. Planck, *De Lucæ ev. analys. critica quam Schleiermacher proposuit*, Gött. 1819 ; J. H. Scholten, *Das paulinische Ev. Krit. Unters. des Ev. Lucæ und sein Verhältn. zu Matth. Marc. und d. Ap. Gesch.* (Dutch), Leid. 1870 ; G. Meyer, *Les sources de l'év. de Luc*, Toulouse, 1868.

204. More difficult of decision still is the question as to the sources of the second book (the Acts). It has been commonly supposed that the author could obtain a large and important part of his narrative from his own recollection, or from the mouth of his chief character ; while for that with which he was not personally connected he had opportunity to collect the materials in Jerusalem. Upon this view the interspersed discourses and letters are regarded as formal acts and documents. Others, on the contrary, regard the principal divisions as reminiscences written down at an earlier date by different persons, which have been woven together into an orderly whole in this work by the hand of a later historian, and in fact in such a manner that the lines of junction are still easily discernible. The truth is probably not all contained in either of the two ideas.

Since here no comparison with parallel texts is possible, the decision must always be difficult ; it has been made still more so by the great confusion which prejudice and tradition have brought into the investigation.

The discourses are not archival and diplomatic deposits (§ 50), but are freely edited after the manner of all ancient historiography ; in part, no doubt, in accordance with entirely trustworthy outlines, as ch. xvii. 22 ff., xx. 18 ff., xxii., xxvi. ; or at least holding correctly to the given situation of affairs : ii. 14 ff., vii., xiii. 16 ff., xv. ; in part, it is true, dealing in commonplaces, but even here probably near enough to nature and reality : iii. 12 ff., iv. 8 ff., 24 ff., x. 34 ff., and only here and there appearing to be the mere product of reflection, with a less felicitous execution : i. 16 ff., v. 34. — The longest of these discourses, as we have them, could hardly have lasted six minutes. Both in their theological contents, so far as they can be compared in this respect, and in their logical form, they have for the most part the same arrangement and coloring (§§ 30, 210).

The short recapitulations at the close of sections : ii. 42-47, iv. 32-35, v. 12-16, 41, 42, viii. 1-3, 25, 40, ix. 31, xii. 24, certainly seem to belong more immediately to the editor than the particular events in each case preceding them, which he must necessarily have obtained from other sources. But the small number of these latter, almost all of them plainly serving the main purpose of the book (§ 210), surely lead us rather to the conclusion of choice and personal labor rather than to that of a mere incorporation of already extant compositions, which moreover must have been quite unnaturally short, to say nothing of the fact that they do not appear to have been written down upon the spot (ii. 1 ff. ; v. 1 ff. ; viii. 39 f.) ; but the later the more certain is it that they would not be so isolated. The more such short compositions one assumes the more improbable becomes his hypothesis. The advocates of the hypothesis of a plurality of written sources speak of the Acts of Peter, Barnabas, Stephen, of various missionary journals, etc. Entirely false are the traces of such documents which some attempt to discover in xii. 25, cf. with xiii. 1, where on the contrary the connection is very plain ; also in the name Herod, ch. xii., as against Agrippa, ch. xxv. ; as if in the mouth of the people or officially, Agrippa I. may not by preference have borne the former name. The thrice repeated account of the conversion of Paul might at first sight seem to prove written documents, directly incorporated ; but the similarity in expression overbalances the diversity in detail, and the interest in the matter, together with the popular method of historical composition, is sufficient to explain the latter. Moreover the last two accounts at least must necessarily have come from the same source, and the mention of the call to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, which was the final aim in the discourses in question, finds its natural justification only in the preceding narrative of the conversion.

The use of written memoirs might be inferred most readily from the form and contents of the last part (§ 211). The fact that this part, as is generally considered, is more fluently and more correctly written than the rest, might then be attributed to the original source, and the frequent Hebraistic coloring of the style in all other parts of the two books would be a characteristic of the author, instead of the reverse according to the usual opinion. Yet this view does not rest upon wholly incontestible phenomena ; and there are no passages which necessarily presuppose a Hebrew original. The independence of the editorial work may be shown, by way of example, by a series of words and forms of expression which are wholly peculiar to the author and which occur in all parts of his works alike, and even particularly in those parts which one might be most inclined to separate from one another: ἀτενίσειν, δυνατός, strong (elsewhere, possible), ἐσθής, τὸ ἔλεος (elsewhere masc.), ἐπιστάτης, καθέξης, καθότι, κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός, μεγαλεῖα and its derivatives, νομοδιδάσκαλοι (also νομικοὶ almost exclusively), λίμνη (elsewhere θάλασσα), παραλελυμένος

(elsewhere *παρалуτικός*), *ὅπτασία*, *ὑπάρχειν* (very frequent), *ὑποστρέφειν*; *οἶκος*, family (Matthew has *οἶκος Ἰσραήλ* twice), *σωτήρ* and its derivatives, *δομοθυμαδόν*, *πρόσωπον*, in Hebraistic prepositional constructions, *ικανός*, numerous (Matthew and Mark only once), *ἀδικία* in the genitive as an adjective, *μὲν οὖν*, many compounds, especially with *διδά*, the construction *ἐν τῷ* with the infinitive (37 times; in Matthew 3 times, in Mark twice), *κατὰ* with the genitive in designations of place; *τε* (in the Gospel 8 times, in the Acts 160, Mark once, Matthew 4 times, Paul 25, John 3), etc. J. D. Schulze, *Glossarium Lucæ*, Mis. 1830; Lekebusch, *Apostel-Geschichte*, p. 37 ff.

But even the history of Paul is not drawn from any complete missionary journal, coming from the Apostle's immediate companions, since so much is lacking (2 Cor. xi. 25 ff., and most of what strictly belongs to the subject of Introduction to the Epistles), nor from a biography made under the Apostle's direction or in accordance with information imparted by himself; cf. ix. 21-30 with Gal. i. 17-24; ch. xv. with Gal. ii.; ch. ii. with 1 Cor. xiv., etc.

J. C. Riehm, *De fontibus Act. Apost.*, Traj. 1821. For other works on the subject see §§ 210, 211. The Church Fathers solved the question very easily; the Muratorian Canon (§ 310) has: *quæ sub præsentia eius gerebantur*; Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 4: *οὐκέτι δι' ἀκοῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς παραλαβόν*; Jerome, *De vir. illus.*, ch. vii.: *sicut viderat*.

205. In order to complete what has been said of the origin and composition of the whole work, and especially of its first part, our Third Gospel, we must expressly repudiate the opposite views which have commended themselves to some investigators in recent times. These, either disregarding or differently interpreting the preface, and overlooking the constant uniformity of the style, have recognized in the work, as they think, various revisions, different throughout, both in material and aim, by which, at different times and in different forms, it served the purposes of opposite parties and interests. Without attempting to deny the existence of elements which might seem to represent diverse tendencies, we do not find them so harshly opposed, and think they are explicable upon a much simpler hypothesis.

E. Zeller, *Ueber den dogm. Charakter des dritten Ev.* (*Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1843, I.), and Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 39, speak not so much of interpolations as of the conciliatory character of the Gospel. Ritschl and Baur (§ 246) were the first to bring criticism to the above mentioned position.

The fundamental idea of the system advocated by these critics is this: our canonical Gospel of Luke is a work which did not come into existence until about the middle of the second century, which was based upon an earlier work, composed in the Pauline spirit (a Pauline revision of Matthew), and altered by interpolations in the Jewish Christian spirit, or rather for irenic purposes, in order that those who were opposed to the strict Pauline party might be won by concessions. This Proto-Luke stands in close relation to the Gospel of Marcion (§ 246).

In its application to the separate divisions of the text this hypothesis professes to point out in turn Pauline, Judaistic, Antimarcionite, and other party references as well as purely historical, colorless elements. Much of this is self-delusion, and acuteness often becomes hair-splitting. Finally, even

granting that this criticism is quite right, as opposed to the traditional view, in the opinion that the Third Gospel by no means is or is intended to be the pure expression of the Pauline theology (§ 209), how is it going to prove that these divergences cannot have been already present in the most ancient traditions, whence the later compiler may have obtained them already mingled, as we have already seen elsewhere (§ 194),—but that just so many hands must have guided the pen as their prism shows them shades of color?

206. A more definite fixing of dates was undeniably a part of the design of our historian, but in most cases this purpose could not be attained, and the few chronological data which the account actually furnishes have been much too strongly emphasized by modern science, and have often served only to confuse and mislead. In the life of Jesus, as well as elsewhere, the events are in part arranged in masses, and many passages are wholly indeterminate. In the Acts, where the restoration of the chronological order was easier, it retires before more important considerations, and the numerical statements and other synchronistic hints are too scanty for the construction of a complete system.

The καθεξῆς, Lk. i. 3, shows of itself that chronological accuracy was intended, and is therefore evidence that the previous writings disagreed in the order of events. The existing sources, however, whether oral or written, can have furnished extremely little that proved serviceable for this purpose, since the wanderings of Jesus through Judea cannot be brought into a clearly arranged picture in this Gospel any more than in the other Synoptists. This is shown most quickly by the account of the tour, falsely so-called by modern criticism, which begins at ix. 51, in which, among other things, very long day's journeys must be assumed (x. 1, 17), a mass of discourses devoid of all external connection is interspersed, and a geographical or chronological arrangement simply does not exist. The account leads us directly to Samaria; in x. 38 Jesus is in Bethany; in xiii. 22 far away; all the time on the way to Jerusalem; in xiii. 31 suddenly in Galilee again; xvii. 11 in Samaria and Galilee; in xviii. 31 he thinks again of the goal of his journey, and in vs. 35 we find him wholly off that road, in Jericho, therefore coming from the other side of the Jordan and so again approaching Bethany; in the mean time Jesus sends his disciples out in all directions (ch. x.), and they have time to return and report; much is not localized at all, xi. 1, xii. 1, xiii. 10, chs. xiv.–xvi., and at the end, xviii. 14, the reference is not to the Parousia. One should surely recognize the fact that with even a superficial knowledge of the position of localities, Luke could not have represented this as one and the same tour, and that there is consequently to be found in his work only an aggregate of separate scenes, without chronological order, which was all that was possible in his time. (Cf. also § 193, and especially the arrangement of ix. 57–62. Immediately after it ch. x. Prayer, ch. xi. Polemic, chs. xi.–xiv. Parables ch. xv., xvi., etc.)

As respects the general chronology (leaving out of account the little error in Acts v. 37), the birth of Jesus is placed according to ii. 2 in the year 6 of the Dionysian era, the appearance of the Baptist, iii. 1, in the year 29; iii. 23 would therefore allow us to infer an activity of at least seven years for him before the baptism of Jesus. There is nothing impossible in this; the question is, simply, whether these specifications are more trustworthy than the account of Matthew, which fixes the first date some ten years earlier. As is well-known, harmonistics here juggle with Luke, declaring his careful

chronological statement *de facto* false, though for form's sake concealing this verdict under exegetical refinements.

In the Acts chronological data only occur incidentally, and are few in number : xi. 28 ; xii. 23 ; xviii. 2 ; xxiv. 27.

207. The date of the composition of this twofold historical work should not be put back too far. Even the first part of it, the Gospel, is later than the destruction of Jerusalem, and the circumstances which attended that catastrophe appear here in the clear daylight of completed events, not, as elsewhere, in the dim twilight of prophetic presentiment. So also the events narrated in the second part, the Acts, are already, in part, at a distance from the eye of the narrator, and their outlines are indistinct and wavering. Even legend has not ventured anything more definite; and with reference to the dwelling-place of the writer its utterances are contradictory and untrustworthy. The style is not the same throughout; in the gospel history it is not essentially unlike that of the other accounts; in the Acts, so long as the scene remains in Palestine, it bears the coloring of the locality; but in the latter part, where the scene of the narrative is upon classic ground, it becomes more conformed to the more cultivated language of Greece.

The usual opinion, in general averse to admitting that apostolic writings (John excepted), had their origin after the destruction of Jerusalem, places the Third Gospel and the Acts before that event, on the ground that the death of Paul is not related in the latter. But even the most ancient tradition unhesitatingly represents the followers of the Apostles as not having written until after the death of their predecessors (Iren. iii. 1).

On the basis for decision found in Lk. xxi. 20 ff., see § 196. The πολλοί, i. 1, decide nothing. But when Acts xx. 25 was written Paul was certainly dead, and the *διετία ὅλη*, xxviii. 30, is a completed period of time, lying in the past to the writer. The participation of Paul in the Gospel, often assumed by both ancients and moderns, is a mere fancy; neither the Gospel nor the Acts were written under his influence, or in his spirit. In the latter, where it would be expected to appear most prominently, the Pauline spirit is very much weakened (§ 210), a fact which is evidently to be ascribed not exclusively to the individual incapacity of the writer, but in great part to the spirit and tendency of the time.

Bis zu welcher Zeit muss das Lucas-Ev. und überhaupt die Synopt. abgefasst worden sein? Zürich, 1848.

As to the place of composition, antiquity conjectures Greece and Egypt, which is shown by the parallel conjectures of Italy in the case of Mark, and of the Orient in the case of Matthew, to be the product of a theory. Even should the possibility that Theophilus (see J. G. Stoltz, *Vindicte Theophili*, Vit. 1698; Horreus, *Misc. crit.*, p. 32 ff.; C. A. Heumann, *De Theophilo Lucae*, in the *Bibl. Brem.*, IV.; T. and J. Hasæus, *De Theophilo Alexandrino*, ibidem) was an Italian (because Acts xxviii. 12 ff. betrays an acquaintance with the geography of Italy!) be raised to a certainty, this would prove nothing for the question. (J. Hasæus, *Bibl. Brem.*, IV. 732.)

208. In the absence of other historical writings on the events of the period following the death of Jesus, this work

must certainly be regarded as the first and oldest Church History, and notwithstanding its narrow aim we find it a document of great richness. Yet, inasmuch as it is not number and external sequence of events that determine the value of a history, but the representation it gives of the spirit and life of the times and men concerned, it is not to be lost sight of that in many respects the Epistles, and whatever else may be classed with them as doctrinal writings, give us a much deeper insight into the state of things in the ancient churches. Only the judgment of absolute disfavor and rejection to which this comparison has at times led critics is not justified.

Luther's opinion, that the Acts are a gloss upon the Epistles of Paul, can only be regarded as correct with reference to the external historical setting which they furnish the latter; it was doubtless formed under the impression of the doctrine obtained from the Epistles in connection with the name which is most prominent in the Acts. More correctly the Epistles were a gloss upon the Acts. As one goes on in the book (cf. § 210), it still holds to the one principle: *Ἰουδαίῳ πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι*, Rom. i. 16, and proves it to a certain extent, but one-sidedly. Even respecting matters of fact the Epistles furnish rich gleanings.

The keen criticism to which the Acts have been subjected in recent times (Baur, *Paulus*, passim; Zeller, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1849, I. ff.) has certainly shown that the events which here form the concrete contents of early Christian history appear in the light of tradition, i. e. at once fragmentary and insufficient for a pragmatic understanding, and ideally colored. But from this to actual distortion is still a long way; the general representation is neither unnatural nor inconceivable, and moreover it is not to be forgotten that a judgment which aims to be impartial must not declare at the outset that but a single view is tenable, whereas there are always several possible.

A. C. de Meijer, *De Lucæ ἀκρίβεια in Act. Apost.*, Hag. 1827; C. F. Kling, *Ueber den hist. Charakter der Apostelgesch.* (Studien, 1837, II.).

General literature on the Acts: J. S. Semler, *Quædam ad illustr. l. Act. cett.*, Halle, 1766; W. C. L. Ziegler, *Zweck, Quellen, und Interpolationen der Ap. Gesch.*, in Gabler's *Journal*, VII. 125; H. E. G. Paulus, *Selecta capita introd.*, p. 281 ff.; E. T. Mayerhoff, *Zweck, Quellen und Verfasser der Ap. Gesch.* (*Petrin. Schriften*, p. 1 ff.); G. F. Fallot, *Introd. aux Actes des Ap.*, Str. 1846.

M. Schneckenburger, *Zweck der Ap. Gesch.*, Bern, 1841; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 71; Zeller, *Die Ap. Gesch. nach Inhalt und Ursprung*, 1854; previously in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1849–1851 [E. tr. by Jos. Dare, Lond. 1876, 2 vols.]; B. Bauer, *Die Ap. Gesch. eine Ausgleichung des Paulinismus und Judenthums*, B. 1850; against him Zeller, *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1852, I. 145. — A. W. v. Campen, *De iure quo nonnulli consilium apologetico-irenicum auctori Act. Ap. tribuant*, Leyd. 1849; E. Lekebusch, *Die Composition und Entstehung der Ap. Gesch.*, Gotha, 1854; Aberle, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1855, II.; the commentaries in general.

R. Biscoe, *History of the Acts of the Holy Apostles*, etc., Boyle Lecture, Oxf., 1742; also 1840.

[J. B. Lightfoot, *Illustrations of the Acts from Recent Discoveries*, in *Cont. Rev.*, May, 1878; Howson, *Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles*, Bohlen Lectures for 1880, Lond. and N. Y. 1880; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 724 ff.]

209. From ancient times the view has held its ground that the Third Gospel, in distinction from the First, leans toward the Pauline standpoint, and favors freer, universal views. It is not to be denied that single arguments of great weight can be brought forward for this idea. But the estimation of the theological character of the book is not complete with this; on the contrary it is highly partial and one-sided. Not only does the history of Jesus as a whole as told in this Gospel bear no different significance than as told by Matthew; nowhere does the purpose appear to set aside or overcome an incomplete religious understanding of this history; on the contrary there are to be found numerous sayings and events drawn from general tradition which, literally understood, bear rather a popular Jewish Christian coloring. It will therefore be nearer the truth if we assert that the material of this work was gathered under the guidance, not of party interest, but of disinterested historical investigation, or, if one prefer, of a thirst for knowledge, seeking greater richness of detail.

In addition to what has already been collected in the notes to § 194, or in illustration of it, the common view points to the genealogy, which is carried back to Adam, the father of all mankind; to the fact that the Samaritans are often mentioned with distinguished praise or at least defended against Jewish wrath, x. 33, xvii. 16, ix. 52 ff.; to the omission of the scene with the Canaanitish woman, Mt. xv. 24; to the declaration, found only in this Gospel, xix. 9, of the Gentile (?) *Zacchæus* as a son of Abraham; to the first discourse of Jesus, iv. 16 ff., which evidently favors the Gentiles as opposed to Israel; to the parables, xv. 11 ff., xviii. 9 ff., which represent salvation as dependent not on works but on grace; with which is to be compared especially xvii. 10 (also doubtless x. 41 f.); to Mt. xxiv. 20, which is wanting in Luke; to the omission of the accusation brought against Jesus, which is termed by Matthew, xxvi. 61, though not altogether correctly, an invention; to xvii. 20, 21, where the eschatological ideas of the Jewish Christians are much spiritualized; to the promise of the Holy Spirit, xxiv. 49; to the emphasis placed upon the necessity of the death of Jesus, where the parallel passages say nothing about it, ix. 31, xxii. 22, etc.

On the other hand the perpetuity of the Law is also expressed, xvi. 17; Jewish Christian expectations are confirmed, xviii. 8, xxii. 30; the same spirit is manifested in the narrative of the childhood, i. 32, ii. 22 ff.; the recension of the Sermon on the Mount, vi. 20 ff., is more Ebionitic in tone than Mt. v. 3 ff.; the same is true of the parable, xvi. 19 ff., especially vs. 25. Again, in xv. 31, the prerogatives of the Jews are reserved, etc. Ch. v. 39 is a sentence foreign to the connection, which, literally understood, speaks a word in favor of the old form. Cf. *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 617 ff. (3d ed. 344 ff.). It is possible for exegesis, without great difficulty and without the use of equivocal artifices, to acknowledge all the apparently contradictory utterances of Jesus to be reasonably reconcilable; it should more often regard the more difficult form as the genuine, the easier as a (correctly) explanatory and later one. The examples of paradoxes and accommodation of metaphors are too numerous for the opposite rule to be preferred. Is it not natural that such sayings, according to the spiritual standpoint of each hearer, at the very outset or later, should be differently apprehended, extended, and used as party principles, while yet it could not be said that the

words had been falsified? And if so, was it not natural that he who collected them at a later time should not always find them in an altogether consistent form? (§ 205.) Moreover this mingling of different elements stands in easily intelligible relations to the theological character of the Acts.

Beside all this, it is a fact shown by any Harmony, and needing no mention, that numerous sayings of Jesus which were certainly capable of being used as watchwords of a particular party occur in both Evangelists alike.

After this exposition of the subject it is self-evident what is to be held regarding the old idea of a direct, even controlling, influence of the Apostle Paul upon the editing of the Third Gospel (Rom. ii. 16; xvi. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 8; cf. 2 Cor. viii. 18 and upon this passage Origen, in Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 25 etc.), an idea for which the modern Tübingen criticism has after all only invented a different formula.

210. Even more certainly has the judgment of scholars erred when they have thought they recognized the Pauline spirit or influence in the Acts. It is not to be denied that there is manifest in this book a definite theological position of the author, as related to the contemporary or earlier parties in the Church; it is equally certain that nowhere is a word said in favor of the strict Jewish view, as it is known from the polemic of the Epistles. But although this polemic itself is not echoed in the book, yet the fundamental thought of the preaching, to which it was subservient, is at times expressed with emphasis and clearness. The purpose of the historian, so far as beside the historical purpose there is also a deeper theological and ecclesiastical one, is rather, by a word and work of peace and reconciliation, to smooth off the sharp corners of matters which had been in many ways troubled by strife, and to win acceptance and dominance for those tendencies and forms which presented the fraternal coöperation of all the Apostles as the means of the Gospel, and the equal rights therein of the Gentile and the Jew, while leaving each to his own special way and manner, as its fundamental principle.

Since at the time when the Acts were written the divergent tendencies had been embodied, in the language of contemporary partisan writers, in proper names, it is natural that in the history generally, and consequently in the conciliatory attempts, these proper names should come into the foreground. Thus the Acts are in fact a kind of historical parallel between Peter and Paul, beside whom (with the exception of James and Stephen, who are their respective kindred spirits) all other personalities vanish. This parallel places them throughout upon the same basis as respects words, deeds, and life; cf. xxii. 17 with x. 10; ix. 10 with x. 3; iii. 2 with xiv. 8 ff.; ix. 36 ff. with xx. 9; v. 1 ff. with xiii. 9; v. 15 with xix. 12; x. 26 with xiv. 11; xii. 7 ff. with xvi. 26; x. 44 with xix. 6, etc. The whole narrative essentially revolves about the fundamental question of the admissibility of the Gentiles; all else is scarcely even incidental. Paul is represented throughout from the side on which he must commend himself to the strict Jewish Christians, as an observer of the Law and a pious Jew (xiii. 3; xiv. 23; xviii. 18, 21; xvi. 3; xx. 16; xxi. 24). The Levite Barnabas, a man acceptable to those of Jerusalem (iv. 36), is security for him, as it were, ix. 27; xi. 22 ff. He himself is a Pharisee and recognized by Pharisees,

xxiii. 6 ff.; xxiv. 14 f.; xxv. 8; xxvi. 4 ff.; xxviii. 20; cf. v. 17 ff.; he never forgets the synagogue on his missionary tours, only because compelled and in accordance with the Scriptures themselves, turning to the Gentiles when repulsed by the Jews. It is noteworthy that the author avoids expressly vindicating to Paul the apostolic title; he is satisfied with otherwise commending him and placing him on an equality with the rest.

Even should one be inclined to deny an actual conscious intention of the kind described on the part of the author, it must surely be admitted that the history is conceived from and ruled by a point of view corresponding to such an intention, and the discourses are continual evidences of a superficial editing, which does not fairly establish the theological principles of the work. The Gospel of Paul is more seldom placed in his own mouth (xiii. 38) than in that of Peter (x. 34; xv. 10).

The properly theological (gospel) element of the book, so far as it is contained in the interspersed discourses, is very scanty: repent and believe in Jesus for the forgiveness of sins (ii. 38; iii. 19; v. 31; viii. 22; x. 43; xi. 18; xiii. 38; xvii. 30; xx. 21; xxii. 16; xxvi. 18, etc.), without further explanation. The idea of faith is exhausted in hope and confession (vi. 7; xv. 11, etc.); the forgiveness of sins is a washing away or blotting out (iii. 19; xxii. 16) by the blood of Christ (xx. 28), and predetermined in the counsel of God (ii. 23; iii. 18; xvii. 3, etc.), but nowhere is a word said of the necessity of the (nevertheless foretold) death of Jesus and of its relation to the forgiveness of sins, or of the subjective appropriation thereof. The general assurance of iv. 12 is all. The Christology is much of it wholly Old Testament (§ 53). The Law has no absolute value, yet it has a relative one; it is called tempting God to impose it upon the Gentiles (xv. 10); it would be apostasy for the Jews to renounce it (xxi. 21; cf. xv. 21). Salvation has its foundation, not, as with Paul, in the mystical event of the new birth, but, as in Jewish Christianity, in the eschatological one of fulfilled prophecy. See in general *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 591 ff. (3d ed. 327 ff.) [E. tr. II. 296]; Hildebrand, *Commentar*, p. 360 ff.; Lechler, *Apost. Zeitalter*, 2d ed. p. 16 ff.; B. Gademann, *Theol. Studien über die Ap. Gesch.*, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1854, IV.; A. J. Oort, *De orationum quæ in Act. Ap. Paulo tribuntur indole paulina*, Leyd. 1862; J. R. Oertel, *Paulus in der Ap. Gesch.*, Halle 1868; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 495 ff. [E. tr. II., p. 228, 4th ed. Edinb. 1874]. — Moreover, modern critics apprehend the partisan position assumed by them for the author not only harshly and one-sidedly, but also very differently.

211. As the author of the last mentioned greater historical work, ecclesiastical tradition names without contradiction a companion of the Apostle Paul, whose true name is unknown to us, but who was called by the Jews Luke. Criticism, if it is discreet, will not be so much inclined to reject the name itself wholly, as one or another of the meanings which have been attached to it. That the idea of the particular theological tendency of the book founded thereupon is untenable has already been pointed out. But the view has been advocated with some plausibility that the author of the whole book is to be distinguished from the person from whose mouth and pen certain fragments of the account of Paul's missionary tours must have come. But it is just these fragments, possibly, which may have been the chief reason why the writer was ever sought for at all in the immediate vicinity of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

Luke, *i. e.*, לוקᾱ, a corruption, like many other foreign names among the Jews (Demas, Zenas, Silas, Epaphras, Hermas, etc.), can be brought into connection with Lucilius, Lucanus, and others. *Codd. Vercell. and Corbej.* actually have the latter form. The persons called Lucius in Acts xiii. 1 and Rom. xvi. 21 are certainly different.

He appears as a companion of Paul in 2 Tim. iv. 11, Col. iv. 14., Philem. 24. Whether also in 2 Cor. viii. 18 is uncertain. He was a physician, according to tradition also a painter, according to the Church Fathers a native of Antioch, according to Col. iv. 14 probably a Gentile Christian. Cf. iv. 11. J. A. Köhler, *Lucas evangelista*, L. 1698 ; J. D. Winkler, *De Luca medico*, L. 1726 ; C. L. Schlichter, *De Luca pictore*, H. 1734. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 649 ff.]

In the account of Paul's tours the first person is used in Acts xvi. 10 in connection with the passing over into Europe and the stay at Philippi; at this point, however, this clue at once disappears, not to appear again until xx. 6, in the same city, thence to continue to the end of the book. There is indeed an apparent interruption, chs. xxii.-xxvi., which, however, upon close examination, has nothing to do with the critical question. The old view sees here simply the author Luke as one of the travelers ; whether he took notes at the time, or wrote down the narrative from memory afterward. The modern conception on the other hand distinguishes two persons, the narrator in the original document and the editor of the work, and the controversy is over the names of the two. The abrupt ending of the book seems to favor the distinction ; but however this may be, the name of Luke is to be preferred to every other for the ancient authority (Timothy, Silas, and Titus have been especially advocated). Yet it is not to be denied that in this case the retention of *ἡμεῖς* would be very remarkable in an editor who everywhere else (§§ 203, 204) uses his sources so independently and gives to his material a style of his own to such an extent that it could even be doubted whether he used written authorities at all ; the introduction of his own person without further account of himself and the circumstances is certainly less remarkable or inexplicable. Yet xxi. 10 stands as if xi. 28 did not exist.

On the author of the Acts and in particular on his relation to the said traveling-journal see (§§ 203, 204) Benson, *History of the Planting*, etc., II. 318 ff. ; J. E. C. Schmidt, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, IV. 15 ; M. Ulrich, in the *Heid. Studien*, 1837, II. ; 1840, IV. ; C. Krauss, in the *Würt. Studien*, 1838, II. ; 1841, II. ; W. F. Rink, in the *Heid. Studien*, 1844, I. ; E. A. Schwanbeck, *Ueber die Quellen des Lucas*, Pt. I. 1847 ; L. Horst, *Sur les sources de la deuxième partie des Actes*, Str. 1849 ; Zeller in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1851, IV. ; Bruston, *Authenticité des Actes des Ap.*, Toulouse, 1859 ; J. Cropp, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1868, III. ; A. Klostermann, *Vindiciæ Lucanæ*, Gött. 1866 ; A. König, *Die Echtheit der Apostelgesch.*, Br. 1867 ; Overbeck (§ 212).

Following the example of the ancients, Van Vloten, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1867, II., still identifies Luke and Silas (*lucus and silva* !).

A clear and convenient survey of the course of criticism respecting the Acts is given in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, VIII. 329 ff.

212. All the historical records thus far mentioned drew from tradition, as it had been preserved in the bosom of the churches from the disciples down. In consequence they exhibit the characteristics which are the necessary result of such an origin, and in much the same way. Thus they lack, to a greater or less extent, the vividness of direct testimony, often, sufficient

authority for the incidental circumstances of the narrative, and in particular all chronological definiteness. But more important than all this is the fact that they confine themselves to presenting Jesus as he might have appeared to his immediate contemporaries upon a more passive observation, which could only apprehend the external and popular phenomenon of his person and his teaching. Yet this in no wise injures the impression which the former as well as the latter is designed to produce upon reader and hearer. On the contrary, it is precisely this simple, childlike method of narration, which believingly accepts the miraculous without tracing it back to carefully thought-out principles, and commends the wise sayings in their pithy brevity directly to the heart and conscience, which most indelibly stamps the image of the Master upon the spirits of men.

Cf. also the following section. For the present section the most useful works are the following: J. Kuhn, *Ueber den schriftstellerischen Charakter der Evv. im Verhältniss zur apost. Predigt*, in his *Leben Jesu*, I. 452 ff.; S. F. N. Morus, *Defensio narrationum N. T. quoad modum narrandi* (Opp., I. 1 ff.); F. A. Krummacher, *Ueber den Geist und die Form der ev. Geschichte in historischer und ästhetischer Hinsicht*, L. 1805; C. G. Küchler, *De simplicitate scriptorum sacr.*, in his *Commentaria de vita J. Ch.*, L. 1821, 1827, Pt. I., II.; T. Colani, *Des évangiles canoniques considérés comme documens de la vie de J. Ch.*, in the *Revue de Théol.*, I. 223, 294, II. 22; Kern, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1838, II.; and in general the apologetic literature against Strauss' *Leben Jesu*.

Exegetical helps on the three Synoptic Gospels taken together, of modern date, are proportionately very few, and most of them of such scope and literary-historical interest that they may be mentioned below under the history of exegesis. Aside from the more complete works on the N. T., by Olshausen, Meyer, De Wette (§§ 587, 589, 592), we may mention for the present Paulus, Kuinöl, Fritzsche (§§ 572, 576, 592). The very sensible lack of a treatise satisfying all the claims of the science is only partially supplied by the numerous biographies of Jesus, and in particular the rich doctrinal contents of the first three Gospels is thrown into the background by the necessity of clearly presenting and treating the events.

Beside these the following are the better-known modern works on all four Gospels: J. C. Köcher, *Analecta phil.*, etc., Altenb. 1766, 4°; S. Clarke, *Paraphrase with notes*, 11th ed. London, 1771, 2 vols.; J. MacKnight, *Harm. of the Four Gospels*, etc., Lond. 1756, 5th ed. 1819, 2 vols.; J. C. F. Schulz, *Anmerk.*, Halle, 1794, 4°. [John Lightfoot, in his *Opp.*, Lond. 1684, 1825; Geo. Campbell, Aberdeen, 1814, 4 vols., Andover, 1837, 2 vols.; McClellan, Lond. 1875; Keil, 1877-81; F. H. Dunwell, *The Four Gospels as interpreted by the early Church*, Lond. 1878; for a very full list, see Meyer on Matthew, Vol. I., E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1877.]

On the Synoptists: J. O. Thiess, Halle, 1804, 2 vols.; C. Glöckler, Frkf. 1834, 2 vols.; H. Ewald, Gött. 1850; F. Bleek, 1862, 2 vols. [Baumgarten-Crusius, *Exeg. Schr. zum N. T.*, Vol. I., Jena, 1845; H. Sevin, *Synoptische Erkl. d. drei ersten Evv.*, Wiesb. 1873.]

On Matthew: J. Elsner, Zwoil, 1767, 2 vols.; J. G. Schulthess, Wint. 1804; F. G. Mayer, Wien, 1818; P. A. Gratz, Tüb. 1821, 2 vols.; R. Käuffer, L. 1827; T. Scott, P. 1828; J. V. Henneberg, Erf. 1829; F. A. Näbe, L. 1837. [Assmann, 1874; B. Weiss, *Matth. u. Lukas-Parallelen*, 1876;

Wichelhaus, ed. Zahn, 1876; Zittel, *Matth. u. Marc.*, 1880; T. J. Conant, N. Y. 1860; Wm. Nast, *Mat. and Mark*, Cincinn. 1864; J. J. Owen, *Mat. and Mark*, N. Y. 1866; J. A. Alexander, N. Y. 1867; H. T. Adamson, Lond. 1871.]

On Mark: G. Volkmar, L. 1870; B. Weiss, B. 1872. Both include the parallel passages. [J. A. Alexander, N. Y. 1858; Jas. Morison, Lond. 1873, 3d ed. 1882.]

On Luke: H. Pape, L. 1778; L. C. Valkenaer (*Scholæ*, Pt. I.); S. F. N. Morus, L. 1795; C. W. Stein, Halle, 1830; F. A. Bornemann, L. 1830; F. Godet, Neufch. 1871. [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1875, 2 vols.] [J. J. Owen, N. Y. 1867; Lamar, Cincinn. 1878; W. H. Van Doren, N. Y. 1881, 2 vols.]

On the Acts: P. Anton, Halle, 1750, 4 Pts.; T. Pyle, Lond. 5th ed. 1765; J. P. L. Snell, Frk. 1791; J. M. Lobstein, Str. 1792 (uncompleted); S. F. N. Morus, L. 1794; T. Scott, P. 1834; J. H. Kistemaker, Münster, 1821; Hastings Robinson, Cambridge, 1824; T. W. Hildebrand, L. 1824; M. Wirth, Ulm, 1831, 3 Pts.; F. Overbeck, L. 1870. Also J. E. I. Walch, *Diss. in Act. Ap.*, Jena, 1766, 3d ed., 3 vols. 4^o; and the better known treatises on the history of the first century (§§ 31, 58). [Baumgarten, 1852, 2 vols. E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1856, 3 vols., 2d ed. of the original, 1859; Stern, 1872; H. Ewald, 1872; Andreä, 1876 f., 2 vols.; H. B. Hackett, 2d ed. 1858, 3d ed. 1877; John Eadie, *Paul the Preacher*, N. Y. 1860; Lechler-Gerok, in Lange, E. tr. N. Y. 1866; C. J. Vaughan, *Lectures on Acts*, Lond. 1864, 3 vols.; J. A. Alexander, 3d ed. N. Y. 1867, 2 vols.; H. J. Ripley, Boston, 1868; P. J. Gloag, Edinb. 1870, 2 vols.; Denton, Lond. 1876, 2 vols.; Abbott, Lond. 1876; Jones, *Studies*, Lond. 1878; C. Schmidt, *Die Ap. Gesch. unter dem Hauptgesichtspunkt ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit kritisch exegetisch bearbeitet*, Erl. 1882, 2 vols.]

213. Meanwhile the extraordinary character of the gospel history and the power with which it must have taken hold of thinking minds aroused and fostered the demand for a consistent explanation of its foundation and nature. We have already seen how soon theological speculation became possessed of all these impressions, and how early ingenious and suggestive attempts were made to give to religious convictions, often spontaneous, conforming themselves with overwhelming force to the truth, a scientific expression, and to vindicate this expression by argument. In the doctrinal writings of the Apostles, which have already been mentioned, we have learned both the methods and results of this speculation; in the historical accounts there are to be found isolated and incidental traces of the same. But in addition to this, the history itself, in its whole extent, was apprehended and rendered from a purely dogmatic standpoint, so that we can see how the extant material became the basis of the Christian idea, which afterward strove to exalt the spirit which dwelt within it, and to strip off the merely incidental or circumstantial. Such a work has been preserved for us in a writing which, under the name of John, the son of Zebedee, is usually reckoned as the Fourth Gospel.

On the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the first three see my *Ideen zur Einl. in das Evang. Joh.*, in the *Denkschrift* of the Theological Society at

Strassburg, 1840; *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 291 ff. (3d ed. 379 ff.) [E. tr. II. 340], on many points also the immediately following sections. Cf. A. W. P. Möller, *De genii et indolis Ev. Joannis et priorum evv. diversa ratione rite definienda*, Br. 1816; E. A. Borger, *De constanti et æquabili J. C. indole cett.*, Hag. 1816; Stein, *Ueber das Verhältniss des Ev. Joh. zu den Synoptikern* (Winer's *Journal*, IX. 321); F. W. Rettberg, *An Joannes in exhibenda J. C. natura reliquis SS. vere repugnet?* Gött. 1826; C. F. C. Reinecke, *De ev. Joh. cum evv. Matth. Marc. et Lucæ conciliato*, Hann. 1827; F. F. Fleck, *De imagine Christi synoptica et Joannea*, L. 1831; J. Paré, *De ev. Jo. non prorsus dissimili prioribus nec ob dissimilitudinem repudiando*, Traj. 1828; C. E. Scharling, *Num quas res autor ev. Jo. memoriæ tradidit iis fidem hist. vindicare voluerit*, Hafn. 1844; E. Delon, *Le récit de S. Jean dans ses rapports avec la narration synoptique*, Toul. 1868; L. H. Slotemaker, *Compar. Jo. et Synopt.*, Leyd. 1856; Holtzmann, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1869, I., II., IV.; Sabatier (§ 163); C. Wittichen, *Der gesch. Charakter des Ev. Joh.*, Elbf. 1868. [W. Sanday, *Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, Lond. 1772; Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, p. 594; *Ch. Hist.*, I. p. 675.] — On the preference for the Gospel of John see Gabler's *Journal*, X., I.

General Introduction to the Gospel of John: C. Dahl, *In Ev. Jo. prolegomena*, Ups. 1703; *Briefe über das Ev. Joh.*, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, VII. 973 ff.; J. D. Schulze, *Der Schriftstellerische Charakter des Joh.*, etc., L. 1803; J. A. L. Wegscheider, *Versuch einer vollst. Einl. in das Ev. Joh.*, Gött. 1806; T. A. Seyffarth, *Beitrag zur Specialcharakteristik der Joh. Schriften*, L. 1823; B. Gerhauser, *Einl. in das Ev. Joh.*, Kempt. 1831; W. Grimm, in the *Encyclopædie* of Ersch and Gruber, § 2, Pt. XXII., and the Introductions in the Commentaries. C. Weizsäcker, *Beiträge zur Charakteristik des Joh. Ev.*, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1859, IV.; J. J. v. Oosterzee, *Das Joh. Ev.*, from the Dutch, Gütersl. 1867. (This and several of the following works are in pronounced opposition to the views here set forth, though from various standpoints.) [B. F. Westcott, *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, 1862, p. 264 ff.]

F. C. Baur, *Ueber die Composition und den Charakter des Joh. Ev.*, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1844; repeated in his *Unterss. über die kanon. Evv.*, Tüb. 1847; cf. his *Drei ersten Jahrb.*, p. 23, and *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1854, II.; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, II. 346. Against them: H. Merz, in the *Würtemb. Studien*, 1846, II.; Hauff, in the *Heidelb. Studien*, 1846, II.; Bleek, *Beitrag zur Ev.-Kritik*, B. 1846. Cf. in general the essays in the *Hall. Allgem. Lit. Zeitung*, 1846, II. 673; III. 1057, and in the *Jena Allgem. Lit. Zeitung*, Oct. 1846. — Hilgenfeld, *Das Joh. Ev. und seine gegenwärtigen Auffassungen*, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1859, III., IV.; Stap, *Origines du Christianisme*, p. 232 ff. [Thoma, *Die Genesis des Joh. Evangeliums*, 1882.]

For the literature upon particular questions see under the following sections.

[A very full catalogue of the literature on the Gospel of John (down to 1869) is given by Dr. Ezra Abbot in the appendix to the article *John, Gospel of*, in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*; also by Dr. Caspar René Gregory, in the appendix to his translation of Luthardt's *St. John*, Edinb. 1875 (from 1792 to 1875). See also Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 406.]

214. It is in the highest degree important for the just understanding and estimation of this book that the reader should bear in mind before all things its essentially dogmatic character. It does not give a history of Jesus and his teachings after the manner of the other Gospels, but it contains, in historical form, an exposition of the Christian faith, in so far as its central point is the person of Christ. It pictures, on the one

hand, the conflict between the world and the truth revealed in him, and on the other the inner blessedness of the elect who yield themselves to him as the light of life. This material, for which the narrative furnishes but the setting, is presented for the most part in discourses of Jesus, and summed up in advance in a short prologue, which is not the preface of a historian but the thesis of a theologian. Not facts, preserved in memory, are the principal things with him, but ideas, begotten of speculation, conceived of feeling, and born as faith.

After this statement of our view it is idle to dispute (C. E. Luthardt, *De Compositione evang. Joan.*, Nor. 1852) whether it shall be said that the history is theologically treated or the theology presented in the form of history. For that the history is fabricated outright or essentially altered for the benefit of the theology has not been asserted. The facts which form the groundwork of the contents, and at the same time the kernel of the history of Jesus, appear as remembrances which have been made objects of reflection, not as products of reflection. It is otherwise only with the references of the Saviour to particular classes of men which occur in his discourses (§ 219). There the theological instruction of the multitude, and not the preservation of a record of external circumstances, is the essential purpose of the book. Inasmuch as it is not likely that this fact will longer be denied, there is no need of making this distinction.

The proof of the doctrines, it is true, is first of all the historical, from the testimony of the Baptist, from miracles and prophecy (i. 6 ff., 19 ff.; iii. 27 ff. — i. 49; ii. 11, etc. — ii. 17; v. 39, 46; xix. 24, 36, etc.), but essentially it is purely theological, from the inner nature of the doctrine, from directly self-evident truth, from the personal testimony of Jesus (v. 34 ff.; vii. 16 f.; viii. 14, etc.).

215. The tendency and spirit of the theology of the Fourth Gospel are not to be estimated in accordance with its possible reference to the controversies which have assigned to the previously mentioned apostolic writings their respective positions. It stands in this respect above the time and its practical interests. The burning question in the early Church, the validity of the Law, it does not touch; or rather it solves it by its inner, ideal conception of the Gospel. Grace and truth first came into the world through Jesus Christ; everything before him, Zion as well as Gerizim, however unlike in other respects, is upon a lower plane of revelation, and love, the breath of life of the Church for the present and future, is a new commandment. The disciples, before the death of Jesus alike involved in uncertainty and fleshly misapprehension, placed upon a level by their departing Lord as partakers of his spirit, recognize no master but him alone. If the spirit were to make a distinction, another name than that of Peter would be the nearest to the heart of the Master.

With the dogmatic framework elsewhere applicable we have here nothing to do. The Fourth Gospel is not concerned with the matters which set Paulinism and Jewish Christianity over against each other. The brief

anthesis in i. 17 sounds like a distant memory of a battle long since fought through. In this Gospel, Jesus, as well as Pilate, speaks of the Law as something foreign, viii. 17; x. 34; cf. ii. 13; vii. 19; xv. 25; but especially iv. 21-24; this simple passage comes more quickly to the point of Christian theology than all the dialectic and exegetical art that Paul lavishes upon his Scripture-trained audience. Cf. also Fischer on the expression *Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* in the Gospel of John, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1840, II.; A. Abry, *Jésus et les juifs dans le 4e évang.*, Str. 1866. The idea that the Synoptic Gospels have more thoroughly overcome Judaism than that of John (A. Archinard, *Les évang. syn. comparés avec l'évang. de Jean*, Gen. 1861) is based upon a one-sided emphasizing of simple phenomena and disregard of those of an opposite character.

Expressly to be rejected, however, is the idea that the book, in its present form, represents the general consciousness of the Church at a particular period between different stages of religious development. True, once having been more generally known and acknowledged than now, it has been able to bequeath to Christian theology certain conceptions, phrases, and striking words, yet in its innermost essence it has been ever more and more the creed of the few, and just as little in the schools as in the church has it ever become in the wider sense popular. To attempt to determine its date from its contents is therefore a hazardous beginning (cf. § 223).

The prominence of the son of Zebedee is designed, — evidently so from the peculiar dress in which it appears; and the circumstance that he everywhere has the precedence over Peter is not to be overlooked: i. 41; xiii. 23 ff.; xviii. 15 ff.; xix. 26; xx. 4; even xxi. 7, although the appendix is designed, among other things, to restore Peter to his apostolic prerogative (§ 239).

216. It has been disputed whether speculation or mysticism had the greater share in shaping the theology presented in this book. The ancients did not distinguish the two ideas so sharply as we are accustomed to do. It proceeds from metaphysical truths to apprehend historical events, but inner experiences are its ultimate aim, and the mystical element is everywhere the keynote. It has also been disputed whether the ideas which dominate the usual sphere of early Christian thought were original with the author, or were borrowed by him from some other source, perhaps from a pre-Christian or extra-Christian philosophy. Such ideas respecting the relation of God to the world already existed in the schools of Judaism, and had their roots in its sacred books; in the Church they could only find acceptance by being adapted and subordinated to those convictions respecting the person of Jesus which had been obtained independently, as well as to those conceptions of sin and redemption in which alone were contained the germs of all Christian theology.

Even the ancients called the author of the Fourth Gospel John the Theologian, *ὁ Θεόλογος*, a title known to us from the superscription of the Apocalypse in the manuscripts; it refers to the doctrine of the Logos, which is the principal theme of the book. (C. A. Heumann, *De titulo theologi Joan. tributo*, 1715.) When Clement of Alexandria called it an *εὐαγγέλιον πνευματικόν*, it was doubtless because this speculative character appeared to

him its most peculiar and highest quality. Nevertheless it is not to be supposed that the speculation, the philosophical element, is in itself either the source or the purpose of the work. The needs of the understanding are first considered because the feelings and will have already come into harmony with faith. The superhuman dignity of the person of Jesus is an axiom derived from direct overmastering intuition, for which, by way of supplement, a key and formula is sought in already existing scholastic ideas (λόγος, *מִימְרָה*); the latter are so little the causative basis of the faith that it can without embarrassment allow expressions such as cannot be brought into harmony with these theoretical principles. For example, the ascription of concrete predicates to God, especially creation (v. 20), his being called *μὲνος ἀληθινός* (xvii. 3), and sharply distinguished from the Son, cf. iii. 34; x. 35 f.; 1 Jn. v. 11; and all that implies a relation of dependence between them (i. 33; iii. 34 f.; v. 19 ff., 26, 30; vi. 38, 57; vii. 28; viii. 42, 55; xiv. 28), and otherwise speaks of Christ in popular Old Testament language, does not agree with this theory, but can be easily harmonized with the faith, and with the inner life nourished thereby.

From what has been said it follows that in our view the earlier treatises on the relation of the Gnosis of John to that of Philo, both the apologetic, which denied, and the syncretistic, which affirmed, proceeded for the most part from wrong points of view or from imperfect exegesis. J. B. Carpzov, *De Λόγῳ Philonis non joanneo*, 1748; cf. his Commentary on Romans and Hebrews; H. C. Ballenstedt, *Philo u. Johannes*, 1812; Schmidt's *Bibl.*, I. 353. See in general Ammon, *Nova opp.*, p. 1 ff.; Heinrichs, *Beiträge*, II. 123; J. F. Winzer, *Discrimen inter τὸν λόγον joan. et τὸ πνεῦμα*, L. 1819; W. Bäumllein, *Der joh. Logos u. d. Rel.-Systeme des Orients*, Tüb. 1828; E. T. Bengel, *De logo joan.*, Tüb. 1824; P. A. Sardinoux, *Le Logos de S. Jean*, Str. 1830; C. Daub, *Ueber den Logos (Studien, 1833, II.)*; L. A. Simson, *Theol. joan.*, Pt. I., Reg. 1839; Baur, *Gesch. der Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit*, I. 92 ff.; B. Froster, *Logologia joan.*, Hels. 1829; J. Ochs, *Der joh. Logosbegriff*, Bamb. 1848; Franke and Niemeyer's *Zeitschrift*, 1844, I.; H. G. Hoelemann, *De evang. joan. introitu*, L. 1855; C. Weizsäcker, *Die joh. Logoslehre*, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1862, IV.; Delitzsch in the *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theologie*, 1863, II.; R. Röhricht, *Zur joh. Logoslehre*, in the *Studien*, 1868, II., III. [Niedner, *De subsistentia τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ apud Philonem Jud. et Joannem apost. tributa*, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1849, III.; J. Bucher, *Des Ap. Joh. Lehre vom Logos*, Schaffh. 1856; a dissertation by Lücke, prefixed to his *Comm.*, translated by Noyes in the *Christ. Examiner* for March and May, 1849; Dörner, *Doct. of the Person of Christ*, I., p. 15 ff., E. tr. I. 13 ff., also translated separately by Prof. Stuart in *Bib. Sac.*, Oct. 1850; Schürer, *N. T. Zeitgesch.*, 648 ff.]

J. P. Martin, *La personne de Christ dans S. Jean*, Str. 1857; A. A. Weber, *De servatoris ap. Joan. notione e V. T. decretis explananda*, Arg. 1860; A. Wabnitz, *La dignité messianique de J. C. d'après S. Jean*, Str. 1865; Pfeiderer, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1866, III.; M. Johansson, *De aeterna Christi pre-existentia in evang. Joan.*, Lund. 1866; L. T. Schulze, *Vom Menschensohn u. vom Logos*, Gotha, 1867.

217. The theology of the Fourth Gospel is as follows: God revealed himself in the beginning through his Word, which called the world into existence and continually pervades it with life. But the world turned away from its creator and from his light, and sank into darkness and death. Therefore the Word became flesh, to bring grace and truth to the world in a new revelation, and to allow it to draw, if it would, from the fullness of the divine. But this appearance was the signal

for a great separation among men. The one class turned to the light, the other remained in the darkness and prepared for the Son of God, as they thought, an ignominious death. But this death was his glorification, and a victory over the world, in which henceforth his spirit works on in might to win the victory for the kingdom he has founded. The condition of entrance is faith, the result of it, life. Both faith and life are a communion of soul with the glorified Saviour, and through him with God, which binds brethren together with a love such as was never before felt, overcomes the afflictions of this life, and places the true and abiding resurrection on this side the grave.

Adhering still more closely to the text, the scheme of the system may be summarized from Jn. iii. 16, 1 Jn. iv. 9, as follows : I. Theological premises : God and the Son. II. Historical premises : The sending (Incarnation) and the world (natural condition and separation, or judgment). III. The mystical theology itself : Faith and Life. For a further analysis of these ideas serves the trilogy of Light, Love, and Life, which are the essence of God, wanting to the world, offered by the Son, and received by the elect. For a more detailed exposition see *Die johanneische Theologie, eine exegetische Studie*, in the *Strassb. theol. Beiträge*, Pt. I. 1847, and in the *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne*, II. 273–466 (3d ed. 367–571) [E. tr., II. 331–512, also in his *La Théologie Johannique*, Pt. VI. of his work *La Bible*, P. 1879].

Earlier monographs : C. C. E. Schmid, *De theologia Joannis Ap.*, Jena, 1800 ; T. Holm, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Lehre des Ap. Joh.*, Lüneb. 1832 ; C. Frommann, *Der joh. Lehrbegriff*, L. 1839 ; C. R. Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evang. und der Briefe Joh.*, B. 1843 ; [cf. Zeller's review in his *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1845, IV.] ; A. Hilgenfeld, *Das Evang. und die Briefe Joh. nach ihren Lehrbegriff dargestellt* (in connection with the development of Gnosticism in the second century), H. 1849 ; C. Niese, *Die Grundgedanken des joh. Evang.*, Naumb. 1850. See also Neander, *Ap.-Gesch.*, Pt. II. [E. tr., *Planting and Training*, N. Y. 1865] ; Lange, *Comm.*, Pt. III., Appendix ; Lutterbeck, *Neutest. Lehrbegriff*, II. 252 ff. ; Lechler, *Ap. Zeit.*, p. 206 ff. ; B. Weiss, *Der joh. Lehrbegriff*, B. 1862. Compare also the appropriate sections in the general works on New Testament Theology, Lutterbeck, Schmidt, Messner, Baur, Weiss, etc.

Further, compare C. W. Stronck, *De doctrina Joannis ad Jesu doctrinam composita*, Traj. 1797 ; C. W. G. Theile, *Christus und Philo* (Winer's *Journal*, IX. 385) ; J. C. F. Steudel, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1835, I. ; J. G. Herder, *Von Gottes Sohn* (*Theol. Werke*, Pt. XI.) ; L. Thomas, *Etudes dogmatiques sur la première épître de Jean*, Gen. 1849 ; B. Bauer, *Der alttest. Hintergrund im Evang. Joh.* (in his *Zeitschr.*, I. 8) ; P. Horth, *Les rapports du 4e Évang. avec l'Anc. Test.*, Mont. 1868.

On special points : C. F. Börner, *Spiritus παράκλητος* (Diss., p. 256) ; *De Spir. Sanc. paraclete*, Hal. 1764 ; J. C. Volborth, *Interpr. locc. de paraclete*, Gött. 1786 ; G. C. Knapp, *De Spirito Sanc. et Christo paracletis*, Hal. 1790. — E. Wörner, *Das Verhältniss des Geistes zum Sohne Gottes aus dem joh. Evang.*, Stuttg. 1862. — C. C. E. Schmid, *Doctr. Joan. de diabolo*, Jena, 1800 ; C. Niese, *Die joh. Psychologie* (without date or place) ; J. Schulthess, *Die Geburt aus Wasser u. Geist* (in Winer's *Exeg. Studien*, p. 103) ; A. Oehler, *Die Geburt aus Gott* (*Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1838, IV.). — J. D. L. Voretzsch, *Quænam sint τὰ ἔργα*, etc., Altb. 1834 ; B. Nachenius, *De notione τῶν ἔργων*, etc., Amst. 1841 ; E. Luthardt, *Ueber ἔργον θεοῦ und πίστις* (*Studien*, 1852, II.) ;

J. E. Huther, *Ueber ζωή und πιστεύειν bei Joh.*, in the *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1872, I.; Groos, *Der Begriff der κρείς bei Joh.*, in the *Studien*, 1868, II.

A parallel between Paul and John is sketched in the *Denkschrift* of the Theological Society at Strassburg, 1840, p. 21 ff., and carried out in the *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 474 ff. (3d ed. 572 ff.) [E. tr. II. 513]. The Christology of the two has been compared by C. C. E. Schmid, Jena, 1802; C. L. W. Grimm, L. 1833; L. W. Jung, Str. 1837.

218. The facts which serve as the foundation of the work, and which are employed in the service of the theology, are no doubt to be distinguished from the formally historical dress. The latter, as a rule taking the form of conversation between Jesus and different persons who represent the world in its various moods and tendencies, has no claim to historical value, but serves a higher purpose, as a free creation of the thinker. On the other hand, there may be noticed among the purely material parts of the narrative, which are not immediately involved with the didactic element, many designations of time and place, personal matters, and isolated facts of all sorts, incidental and in themselves unimportant, by which one is prepossessed in favor of the work and led involuntarily to the idea that the writer, or at least his authority, was an eye-witness. That this idea must be given up appears in particular from a comparison with the other accounts where they are parallel, — sometimes even in very important matters. In so far, therefore, as we understand by the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel the trustworthiness of the facts narrated therein, with the above limitation, no fundamental doubt, which would reject altogether all that is peculiar to this book, can be justified. For even at a somewhat later time the sources of trustworthy remembrance could not yet have failed.

On what is said of the conversations, which we have to treat with reference to their apparently material portions precisely like the discourses, see the following section.

With respect to the designations of time, there is certainly as little proper chronology to be looked for here as in the other Gospels, although criticism continually persuades itself that it has one, when it assumes to fix arbitrarily wholly undetermined epochs; but with many discourses and occasions are connected references to the time of the year and the hour of the day (i. 40; ii. 13; iv. 7; vii. 2; x. 22, etc.), though the matter itself has no immediate connection therewith; hence properly regarded as aids to the memory.

With respect to locality (very often accurately designated), the book bears witness definitely only to a more frequent presence of Jesus in Jerusalem, which indeed is actually necessary and presupposed by the passion itself. Cf. also i. 28; iii. 23; x. 22, etc.; Mt. xxiii. 37; Lk. xiii. 34. But the patristic view, at the present time again in favor, which confines the public ministry of Jesus to a single year, seems to us to fail utterly to explain its lasting effect.

Persons are more accurately designated not only in conversations, where one might expect it, but also in simple narratives, i. 35 ff., xviii. 10, than in

the Synoptists. Cf. ch. xi., the family of Bethany, with Lk. x. 38. The narrative of the passion, in particular, contains many such strokes.

For modern treatises on this subject see above, § 213, and in comparison with Matthew, § 195. For a point of view opposed to our own, see in particular Köstlin, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1851, II. 183 ff. In general, C. E. Scharling, *Fides et auctoritas evang. Joan.*, Hafn. 1844.

6/6 219. The numerous discourses which are put into the mouth of Jesus, and which properly constitute the kernel and essence of the book, we hold to be in form and setting the work of the writer. The relation between the speaking Saviour and his hearers, as it is here represented, is not in keeping with the sufficiently attested condescension of Jesus to the people in his teaching. Moreover the words attributed to him are often mingled with the author's own reflections. The uniform application of all the conversations, the lack of clearness in their external progress, or of any necessary close at all, as well as their general summary character, are more significant proofs of their free composition than even the psychological impossibility, formerly appealed to, of their verbal retention in memory by the still immature disciple. Moreover it is unmistakable that to the mind of the writer the discourses, taken as a whole, presented themselves as a progressive, coherent, and almost systematic exposition of the gospel theology. 4/3

The assertion that such discourses, as they here occur, could not have been retained verbally for fifty years is as strange as the opposite, that they were written down on the spot (L. Bertholdt, *Verosimilia de evang. Joan. origine*, Erl. 1825); both arguments of an antiquated criticism and apologetics. It is impossible that the Apostle should have reproduced the contents of these discourses in his own mind and for others, and given the final form to his book, immediately after he had for the first time made them his own.

The style is the same in the discourses of Jesus, in the theological positions added by the author, in the Epistles, and in the words which are put into the mouth of the Baptist. It cannot be replied that the author modeled his style after that of Jesus in his discourses, for in that case this must have been a very uniform, sharply characterized one, which would exclude the wholly different discourses recorded in the Synoptic Gospels.

The free composition of the conversations (aside from those at which the author, even if he was one of the twelve, was not present at all, iii., iv.) appears also in the conclusion, or rather want of conclusion, of certain scenes, e. g., iii. 16 ff., 31 ff., where it is disputed at what verse the discourse of Jesus ceases, while evidently the theological explanation of the author has been identified with it (i. 16-18 is not properly cited here). Cf. iii. 11, οἶδαμεν, and xvii. 3, 4. Ch. xii. 44-50 is a free recapitulation of all the previous theological principles, at the close of the first part of the work. (On the contrary, beside others, W. F. Besser, in the *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1852, IV.; J. P. E. Boursaus, *De l'historicité des discours dans l'évang. de S. Jean*, Toul. 1866; H. Meyer, *Les discours du 4e évang.*, La Rochelle, 1872.) [Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, p. 596; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 693.]

The conversations are everywhere developed on the plan that the hearers understand in a material what Jesus says in a spiritual sense: ii. 20; iii. 4, 9; iv. 11, 15, 33; vi. 28, 31, 34, 52; vii. 27, 35; viii. 19, 22, 33, 39, 41, 52, 57; ix. 40; ii. 12; xiv. 5, 8, 22; xvi. 29; to which may be added

passages in which the exegetes have fallen into the same error ; iv. 14 ; v. 21, 25, 36 ; xiii. 10, etc. Apparent historical notes found here and there represent only general relations and are unintelligible and inconceivable as actual facts : v. 16 ff. ; vii. 30 ; viii. 12, 13, 21, 22, 30 ff. — The unity of all the discourses, without any reference to their respective audiences, is manifest not only from the plan and spirit of the contents, but strikingly so from x. 24 ff., which refers back to chs. v. and viii. and to x. 1 ff., where totally different persons are introduced.

It is not to be overlooked that the most peculiar and characteristic thing in the Synoptic discourses of Jesus, the parable and what is connected with it, is wholly lacking here, and is replaced by figures and allegories of a wholly different kind. Paradoxes and oxymora are found, it is true, in the Fourth Gospel also, but they are different in many respects from the frequent and popular ones found in the Synoptists.

Between the older theology, which knew nothing at all of a particular Johannean type of doctrine, and the view here defended, though with somewhat indefinite and arbitrary limits, stands the view which would construct the Johannean type of doctrine solely from the Epistles and from the portions of the Gospel remaining after leaving out the discourses. (Schmid, *Bibl. Theol.*, II. 359 ff.)

The attempt to save the genuineness of the discourses by explaining away their metaphysical sense by artificial exegesis seems to us to be a failure (C. Weizsäcker, *Ueber das Selbstzeugniss des joh. Christus*, in the *Stuttg. Jahrb.*, 1857, I. Against him, Hilgenfeld, in the *Jenaer Zeitschr.*, 1859, III. p. 283 ff. ; Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, I. 121 ff.)

220. But when we deny to these discourses, in the form in which they occur, formal genuineness, that is to say originality, we do not mean to say that they are fabricated in their innermost substance also. On the contrary the points of contact with the fundamental thoughts of Jesus' preaching as elsewhere handed down are by no means few ; upon careful examination many points of agreement with the representation of the other accounts may be found ; and the strange coloring of the whole may be explained partly by the particular purpose which the author had in view. In some passages we can see, even through misconceptions, how he used extant and authentic utterances of Jesus as his foundation ; in others a subtle distinction can be recognized between the language of the school, when the writer is speaking, and the language of life, in the words of Jesus. But in general the elevation of the thought ought in itself to be sufficient evidence that it is drawn from the purest sources and rooted in the most wholesome soil.

The number of parallel passages between the first three Gospels and the Fourth (respecting the utterances of Jesus) is not so small as it might seem upon a superficial view ; cf. for example, ii. 19 with Mt. xxvi. 61 ; iv. 22 with Mk. xiv. 58 ; iv. 35 with Mt. ix. 37 ; iv. 44 with Mt. xiii. 57 ; v. 17 f. with Mk. ii. 27 ; x. 16 with Mt. xxii. 1 f. etc. ; xii. 8 with Mt. xxvi. 11 ; xii. 36 with Lk. xvi. 8 ; xiii. 16 and xv. 20 with Mt. x. 24 ; xiii. 34 with Mt. xxii. 37 ; xvi. 2 with Mt. xxiv. 9 ; xx. 23 with Mt. xvi. 19, and many others. But note especially such passages in the Synoptists as express the same thoughts

as their parallels, but from a different point of view : cf. xiii. 20 with Mt. x. 40 ; xii. 25 with Mt. x. 39 ; vii. 37 with Mt. v. 6, Lk. vi. 21 ; xvii. 2, 4 with Mt. xxvi. 64 ; v. 16 ff. with Mt. xii. 8 ; vi. 27 with Mt. xvi. 6 ff. Passages of an entirely Johannean coloring are also found in the other Gospels, though but seldom ; see especially Mt. xi. 27 ; xxviii. 18, 20.

That the author had sayings of Jesus before him which he did not understand, or whose meaning he but imperfectly comprehended, appears from ii. 21 ; vii. 39 ; xii. 33. Cf. H. P. C. Henke, *Joan. nonnullorum Jesu apophthegmatum ipse interpres*, Helmst. 1798 ; E. Laurillard, *De locis evang. Joan. in quibus auctor ipse Jesu verba interpretatus est*, Leyd. 1853. Ch. v. 4, xi. 51, xii. 15, 40, xix. 36, 37, etc., also show the distance of the disciple from the Master. The language of the schools (*λόγος, μονογενής*) is strictly used only in the additions ; the discourses, iii. 13, viii. 58, xvii. 5, 24, xiv. 28, etc., very often break through its bounds.

On the "last" discourses (Zeller in the *Würtemb. Studien*, II. 2), chs. xiv-xvii., which according to our conception (§§ 215 f., 221) are the kernel of the whole, see especially F. G. Merens, *De ultimorum Christi sermonum quos refert Joan. authentia*, Traj. 1852. On ch. xvii : N. J. Roldanus, Leyd. 1829 ; T. Modderman, Gron. 1843.

221. The deeply thought out plan of the book is certainly externally dependent upon the history chosen as a setting, yet it does not at all proceed in accordance with divisions of time. Aside from the prologue, it divides itself into three parts. In the first it sets Jesus, the Word manifest in the flesh, over against the world ; He is announced to it first by the Baptist, afterward by miracles and prophetic power and deeds ; He sets before it the conditions and the means of salvation, and wins men in the midst of it for the kingdom of God ; is little understood, seldom accepted, much opposed ; and thus the great separation of men is actually accomplished as a judgment. In the second part Jesus, the Redeemer glorifying himself in death, is presented in the circle of his elect, bestowing upon them the blessing of his love and peace for the present, and the comfort of his abiding presence for the future. In the last this double relation is developed, determining the destiny of the world under the figure of his own fate ; the hostile elements, outwardly victorious, in reality accomplish only their own ruin ; his death is the true victory, an exaltation in whose glory all those have part whose eyes and hearts bear witness of the risen one.

The prologue, as the dogmatic thesis of the historical work, includes only the first five verses. In the fifth the end is suggested. In the sixth begins the historical exposition, — with the Baptist, in John as in Mark.

First Part. i. 6-xii. (a.) Entrance into the world and attestation before it by testimony, miracles, prophetic zeal, and prophecy (chs. i., ii.). (b.) Jesus in relation to the world, — first as seeking Him, where scholastic wisdom gives place to the simplicity of the people, even schismatics and heathen (chs. iii., iv.) ; then as hostile to Him, rejecting and misunderstanding revelation (chs. v.-xi.), where to the exposition of the chief truths of salvation, faith, spirit, freedom, light and life, is added the characteristic feature of the opponents passing judgment upon themselves. (c.) Over against these,

the rejecting and therefore rejected Jews, the prospect of the calling of the Gentiles (ch. xii.). (d.) Recapitulation of the history and preaching (xii. 37-50).

Second Part. Chs. xiii.-xvii. Complete contrast with the first; there conflict with the world, here friendship with a few; there controversial discourses with unbelievers, here devotion to the faithful; judgment, and life; the multitude, and the disciples; the country, and an upper room. As to contents, mysticism drawn from speculation: love and works, promise and prospect, strength in fellowship, victory in death. This second part might be called the practical or ethical portion of the book, were it not that these expressions have become far too trivial in common use.

Third Part. Chs. xviii.-xx. The narrative of the passion, — without theological amplification, which had been anticipated sufficiently in the foregoing portion of the book, yet not without hints such as raise the facts to the height of the theological standpoint. Ch. xviii. 6, 36 ff.; xix. 5, 11, 15, 21 f., 25 ff., 32 ff.; xx. 17, 21, 29.

Critics have given very special attention to this subject in recent times (§§ 214, 217), but we must think that in the attempt to avoid a merely external construction of the plan of the work, they have allowed themselves to be carried away into an altogether too subjective and artificial one, entirely foreign to the Evangelist himself. Cf. C. E. Luthardt, *Das joh. Evang. nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit geschildert u. erklärt*, Nb. 1852, 2 Pts., especially I. 255 ff. [2d ed. entirely rewritten, 1875; E. tr. by Gregory, Edinb. 1875, 2 vols.]; W. Hönig, *Die Construction des 4ten Evang.*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1871, IV. [Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 683].

222. From this clearly discernible plan it is sufficiently evident that the immediate aim of this writing can only be sought in its subject-matter and in its peculiarly new and spirited apprehension of well-known facts. It is unnecessary and misleading to attribute to the author polemic references to certain phenomena of the time; all the more since he himself has overcome and leaves untouched those contradictions in the religious consciousness of his contemporaries which had formerly been sharpest. Still less acceptable, however, is the view that his purpose was to supplement or strengthen the accounts of the earlier Gospels, especially the three in our possession. There is no ground for this view either in the plan or in the contents; it is only with difficulty that any reference to the supposed older Gospels can be discovered; it can by no means be proved that all three preceded this in time, and still less that they already had a special authority in the church at the time when the Fourth, with exclusive reference to them, must have been written.

The author clearly states his purpose at the close of the book, xx. 31. To restrict *ταύτα* chiefly to the few miracles of which account is given would be a meagre interpretation (for *σημεῖα* itself might include more than this). But the three leading ideas in the closing verse, Son of God, faith, and life, are so peculiarly and deeply apprehended in this book that it was certainly worth while to point them out as the kernel of the work.

The supplemental theory, outwardly conceived, is exceedingly crude, having its origin in the feeling that the Fourth Gospel has too little narrative,

therefore in the view that what constitutes the mass of the material, *i. e.* the miracles, is the chief thing in the life of Jesus. It is also a very hazardous view, because every variation from the others, though never so slight, at once appears as a sensible contradiction. Somewhat similar is the idea that John found the others insufficient in a theological point of view, however well this relation may be defended in the abstract, without reference to the conception of the canon. Both these points of view are combined in the idea (Aberle in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1861, I.) that John wrote against the Synagogue of Jamnia, to prove that Jesus preached in Judea also, and was the Logos become flesh, because the Jewish doctors derived the opposite view from the Synoptists.

Here also should be noticed the related question, much discussed in recent times (see among others, Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1857, IV., but also Weizsäcker, above, § 213), whether the author knew and used our Synoptic Gospels at all, — a question an affirmative answer to which would not even necessarily imply the denial of the apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel. But the facts seem by no means to compel this answer, and the farther down in time, the more difficult it would be to reconcile acquaintance and dependence with the much more numerous and important variations. Cf. for the historical element, Jn. i. 32 ff., ii. 14 ff., iv. 46 ff., vi. 5 ff., 16 ff., xii. 1 ff. with the parallel passages, and for the utterances of Jesus, § 220.

The author's polemic against the Gnostics, if that were his purpose, would have to be regarded as very ineffective and imperfect; for these very sects made the first and most zealous theological use of the book. It would be nowhere striking and direct; in no one of the opponents of Jesus described appears the type of the false Gnosis or of any at all; they are Jews, doctors, and common people, without a touch of a speculative tendency; on the contrary they immediately drag down every idea of higher mould into the mire of the common materialistic literalism and casuistry.

The exploded hypothesis of an attack on the "Disciples of John" arose just at the time when the knowledge respecting the Mendæans, *i. e.* (not Mendai Jahja [sic] or Disciples of John, but) worshipers of the æon Menda dechaje = the power of life, a stunted remnant of Gnosticism in Mesopotamia, began to launch out into strange mazes. The half-confused, half incorrect knowledge of this sect was immediately hailed as a "newly discovered source" for the understanding of the New Testament, which it was then thought was to be explained from anything else rather than itself. (Mosheim, *De rebus Christ. ante Const.*, p. 43 f.; Kleuker, *Echtheit des N. T.*, II. 238 ff.; Baumgarten-Crusius, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 143, and many others, also among those to be mentioned in the following note). On the Mendæans themselves see Gesenius, *Art. Zabier*, in the specimen number of the *Encyclopædia*; L. E. Burkhardt, *Les Nazoréens ou Zabians*, Str. 1840. But confusion and misunderstanding still reign in these treatises because of foreign accounts and insufficient knowledge of the sources. Cf. especially the *Art. Mendäer*, by Petermann, in Herzog's *Encyklopädie*, but not the here quite irrelevant work of D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und d. Ssabismus*, Petersb. 1856.

G. L. Oeder, *De scopo evang. Joan.*, Frankf. 1732; J. Oporinus, *Clavis evang. Joan. historica*, Gött. 1743; N. Barkey, *De scopo evang. Joan.* (*Bibl. Hag.*, III. 591), J. G. Overbeck, *Neuer Versuch über das Evang. Joh.*, Gera, 1784; C. C. Tittmann, *Meletemata*, Pt. I. Vit. 1786; G. C. Storr, *Zweck der evang. Geschichte und der Briefe Joh.*, Tüb. 1786; Paulus, *De consilio Joan.* (*Introd.*, p. 153); Lindemann, in Eichhorn's *Bibl.*, X. 879; Russwurm, in Augusti's *N. Bibl.*, III. 257; *Ueber den Zweck des Joh.* (in Schmidt's *Bibl.*, I. 292); T. C. P. Kaiser, *De apologeticis Joan. consiliis*, Erl. 1821 ff.; A. T. Hartmann, *Hauptplan und Nebenzweck des 4ten Evang.* (*Opp. Schr.*, VIII. 364); Schneckenburger's *Beiträge*, p. 60; P. E. Baillif, *But de l'évang. de S. Jean*, Str. 1849. — C. Wittichen (*Der geschichtl. Charakter des*

Evang. Joh., Elbf. 1869) sees in the book a genuine Johannean controversial writing against the Christology of the Essene Ebionites, but gives up the historical character of the material and the residence of the Apostle at Ephesus. Cf., against him, Pfeleiderer, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1869, IV.

223. The work contains no certain hint, to say nothing of any more definite statement, by which to fix the date. The current opinion, which places it in the last years of the first century, depends upon traditions whose trustworthiness may fairly be doubted. If criticism decides in favor of its composition by the son of Zebedee, it must certainly be carried considerably farther back. On the other hand it is just as certainly erroneous to suppose that it must be inferred from the spirit and teaching of the book that it could only arise after a very long intervening time and a late development of Christian ideas, therefore not until about the middle of the second century. For it is not the law of such developments that each successive step in the progress of thought can be taken only after the foregoing has been outlived. Productive minds come into the world not only one after another but also together, and may sometimes mutually benefit and mould one another. The most essential thing to be noted, however, is that in this case they had to learn not so much one from another as from the same source, which was accessible to them all, and from which each could draw according to the measure of his gifts.

The patristic opinion, that the Gospel was not written until the end of the century, is based upon the assumption of the priority of the Apocalypse; the date of the Apocalypse upon the legend of the exile to Patmos; the exile to Patmos upon a false interpretation of Rev. i. 9. But neither the one work nor the other was written by an old man of ninety years. If this date has historical ground it is an evidence against the Apostle.

With the author, as with all Jewish Christians, the complete inner overthrow of Judaism (§ 215) is not to be thought of before the destruction of the temple; since upon this point, and in part in eschatology, he goes beyond even the Pauline standpoint, speculation is used, not perhaps for the first time, but as something already current; the history as a whole is made the subject of theological reflection, and in its details of careful selection.

But it does not follow from all this that we must go down several generations, and infer from the analogy of the forms of expression that the work is contemporary with the later Gnostic theology. That the Gnostics should have made use of and interpreted the book is natural; but that the Church, notwithstanding this open use of it by her opponents, should have allowed an alien work, of doubtful value, to be imposed upon her as a genuine apostolic writing, is scarcely conceivable; and it is just as difficult to suppose that she should have regarded as ancient an entirely new writing, which Gnosticism had been first to consider inspired and genuinely evangelical. Cf. also § 215, note, and § 226.

The text itself contains nothing decisive of this question. Passages like xix. 35 and xxi. 23 may be explained as either for or against the authorship of the Apostle. But in the latter case they do not prove that he must at least have been still living at the time when the book was written.

224. There is something altogether peculiar in the style of this book. The Hebraistic coloring of other apostolic writings is here effaced, or at least rendered less striking, not so much in the rules of construction as by the wholly new spirit, quite foreign to the style of the Old Testament. But just as little does the manner of the author remind one of the style of the Greeks. His sentences are arranged rather in accordance with the inner connection of the thought, which must often be sought for, than by the outward help of the words; he delights in artless simplicity, without being afraid of repetition or lacking the ornaments of figurative language. Furthermore, the author, who evidently wrote for Greek readers, still betrays his Jewish origin by his explanation of Hebrew expressions, as well as by his knowledge of Palestinian localities and Jewish usages.

For the latter cf. i. 39, 42, 43; ii. 6; iii. 23; iv. 5, 9; xix. 13, 17; xx. 16, and many others. The characterization of the Jews as alien to the author (§ 215) is due to the theological peculiarity of the book.

A very idle question was it, whether the Gospel of John was originally written in Syriac? Schmidt's *Bibl.*, II. 278.

225. But beside this there is to be noticed an undeniable and intimate acquaintance with expressions, probably therefore also with philosophical and theological conceptions, which transcend the range of thought of Palestinian Judaism and of the Galilean disciples trained therein. Thus the author appears to be the first Christian writer who borrowed terms from the technical phraseology of the Alexandrians to express the principles of the apostolic faith. He must therefore have lived under such circumstances as to render such an entrance into a foreign realm of thought natural for him and conceivable for us. Now, according to a very ancient tradition of the Church, John, the son of Zebedee, is said actually to have passed his later years at Ephesus, and from that point to have managed the churches of Asia Minor. But at this place contact with speculation would have come about in many ways; a demand for a deeper Gnosis lay in the conflicts then arising. Yet this tradition, even were it wholly unquestionable, could not of itself decide the question of authorship.

On the latter matter cf. §§ 72, 116 ff. No tradition of the life of the first disciples is so constant as that of the residence of John at Ephesus. Cf. Iren. ii. 22; iii. 3; Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 23, and many other passages. The tradition is said to reach back through Polycarp and Papias to the Apostle himself. True, the latter testimony is not quite certain, since Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39, proves from Papias himself that he distinguishes two Johns, and speaks of the younger as a man still personally known to himself.

The trustworthiness of this tradition has been greatly shaken in recent times: Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, I. 161 ff.; A. Carrière, in the *Strassb. Revue*,

1868, p. 178 ff.; Scholten, in the *Leidner Zeitschr.*, 1871, p. 597 ff.; 1872, p. 325; also separately, Leyd. 1871 [trans. into German, B. 1872]; P. Picheral, *Le séjour de l'ap. Jean à Ephèse*, Str. 1868; Wittichen (§ 222).—On the other side, Steitz, in the *Studien*, 1868, III.; A. Wabnitz, in the *Paris Revue théol.*, 1870; and the critics of the Tübingen school who regard the Apocalypse as a genuine Johannean work. [Cf. Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. p. 424 ff.]

On the life of the Apostle John see the matter collected by Lampe in his *Prolegg.*, also G. A. Detharding, *Vindiciæ Joannis*, L. 1739; W. Grimm, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, II. Pt. xxii. [M. Krenkel, *Der Ap. Joh.*, L. 1871; Ebrard, *Art. Johannes*, in Herzog's *Encykl.* (much abridged, in Schaff-Herzog); Neander, *Planting and Training*, p. 354 ff. E. tr., cf. p. 508 ff.; Francis Trench, *Life and Char. of St. John the Evangelist*, Lond. 1850; Stanley, *Essays on the Apost. Age*, 3d ed. 1874, p. 234 ff.; J. M. McDonald, *Life and Writings of St. John*, with introduction by Dean Howson, N. Y. 1877.] On his mental type and characteristics, see the literature in the following section.

A candid study of the Johannean theology must always lead to the conclusion that its metaphysical side is not the aim of the author, but the foundation upon which the mystical is built; that the latter only is a complete whole, perfect in itself, to which he is never untrue; that the metaphysics, on the other hand, are broken through at every moment by a popular mode of speech at variance with them; that we are therefore perfectly justified in regarding them as something properly foreign to the author and borrowed by him from some other source. To this is to be added the simple chronological relation which allows us to admit speculation respecting the self-revelation of God in the Son or Word as something preceding the preaching of the Gospel and current throughout Judaism. Herein lies the fundamental difference between our conception of the nature of the Johannean theology and that which has been advocated since by the Tübingen school, and the reason why we are by no means compelled to assume a later date, perhaps the middle of the second century, and another school of thought, in order to explain the book. Cf. § 216 and the literature cited therein.

226. Nor can the composition of the Fourth Gospel by this John be proved altogether conclusively by means of the known external arguments. On this side it is still, to the stricter criticism, a mere possibility. Over against the evidence of the ancients stands equally weighty, if not even more definite and ancient, testimony for the Apocalypse, which cannot have been written by the same author. These testimonies are separated from the apostolic period by a very long interval. This interval is only partially bridged over by the writer of the appendix to our Gospel. The independent testimony of the anciently attested Epistles would have greater weight were it not that in respect to these further considerations prevent. The peculiar way in which the person of the son of Zebedee is interwoven in the narrative (for that he is meant is certain) must not be taken at once as a trace of attempted deception, but admits a different interpretation from the common one. The decision depends upon the judgment one may pass upon the delineation of the person of Jesus, and this will for a long time yet be an individual and subjective one. The book will

always remain a highly important one not only for the history of Christianity but also for the future of the Church, even though the secret of its origin should never be revealed.

The positive testimony does not begin, as the history of the canon shows, until Theophilus of Antioch, after 170 A. D. But the universal recognition of the book by the Church immediately thereafter, sufficiently attested, would be inexplicable did it not reach back much farther; for the theological peculiarity of the work is so marked, the use made of it by heresy so dangerous, that, had it been of late or doubtful origin, a partial opposition, or at least a hesitation, a holding back, would not have surprised us at all. The question whether traces of the use of the Fourth Gospel occur in Justin (§ 294) does not seem to us to have the importance that has been attributed to it. On the one hand the quotations of this writer in general are not such as could be decisive for a canon, since he passes over Paul in silence and praises the Sibyl, and moreover is too late in time; on the other hand, certain theological forms of speech show quite clearly the already accomplished broadening of view which in the Church was based essentially upon the Fourth Gospel.

The unspeakable pains that has been taken to collect external evidence only shows that there is none in the proper sense of the term.

Ewald, *Jahrb.*, 1852, p. 178; C. F. T. Schneider, *Echtheit des joh. Evang. nach den äussern Zeugnissen*, B. 1854; French dissertations by A. Gras, 1851; A. Hocédé, 1854; E. H. Rayroux, 1865; T. Grassart, 1866; L. A. Sabatier, 1866. Jacobi, in the *Berlin. Zeitschr.*, 1853, N. 24 f.; Steitz, in the *Studien*, 1857, III.; Aberle, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1864, I.; Rauwenhoff, in the *Leidner Zeitschr.*, 1867, I.; C. J. Riggerbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evang. Joh. neu untersucht*, Basel, 1866; Hoifstede de Groot, *Basilides* (§ 292), p. 85 f.; Overbeck, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1867, I.

On the evidence to be derived from the Epistles, see § 228. C. L. Weitzel, *Das Selbstzeugniss des vierten Evang.*, in the *Studien*, 1849, II.; Rettig, *De Joan. nomine in Evang. nunquam scripto* (*Ephem. giss.*, III. 83); in the opposite sense, Köstlin, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1851, II. 207 f. There has lately been discussion, with reference to the question before us, of the force of the pronoun *ἐκείνος* in xix. 35, as a possible basis of decision. (Alex. Buttmann and G. E. Steitz, in the *Studien*, 1859, III.; 1860, III.; 1861, II.)

H. Spaeth (Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1868, II., III.) discovered the beloved disciple in Nathanael, Jn. i. 47 (cf. the *Leidner theol. Zeitschr.*, 1868, p. 653), while he is identified by an anonymous writer (Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1873, I.) with the Apostle Paul.

That the John who appears in Gal. ii. did not write the Gospel may unhesitatingly be admitted. But must he necessarily always have remained the same as he was at that time, when at the most but little more than thirty years of age? The transformation of Paul was a still greater one. And do we then know so accurately how much he was at heart attached to that narrower faith, because he was obliged externally to move in its sphere? Is not the Johannian theology of precisely that character that he who cherishes it prefers to avoid conflict with those who do not understand it? Unless it is denied outright that Jesus loved this disciple, this preference must have had some ground; Jesus must have seen deeper than we are able to do through Lk. ix. 54, Mk. iii. 17, x. 35, Mt. xx. 22. A germ of more profound religiosity may have been implanted in a heart which needed only change of air and soil to bring it to maturity. Was not Peter also, a much stronger nature, dependent on air and soil? Cf. C. L. Obbarius, *De temperamento Joan. cholerico*, Gött. 1738; C. M. L. Köster, *Der Ap. Joh. nach Fortbildung und Vollendung seines christlichen Lebens*, L. 1838; Niemeyer's

Charakt., I.; C. A. Heumann, *De titulo Joan. μαθητῆς ὃν ἡγάπα Ἰησοῦς* (*Nova Syll.*, II.); J. W. Schmid, *De Joan. a Jesu dilecto*, Jena, 1795; J. B. Troost, *De discipulo quem Jesus dilexisse dicitur*, Leyd. 1853. On Boanerges see Pfeifer, *Dubia*, 910; M. Chladenius, *Vit.* 1712; J. F. C. Gurlitt, in the *Studien*, 1829, IV. [See also Godet, Vol. I. of his *Comm.*, 3d ed., p. 50; Westcott, in his *Comm.*; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays*, p. 249 ff., 3d ed.; Schaff, *Apost. Ch.*, 407; *Ch. Hist.*, I. 413.]

To the argument against the Johannean authorship of the Fourth Gospel drawn from the Easter controversy (Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 24) we cannot attribute the importance which has been given it lately. Our Gospel states that Jesus died on the day on which, in the evening, the Jews were to keep the Passover, whereas he had already, the evening before, eaten his farewell meal with his disciples. The Asiatic churches, however, always celebrated the old Jewish Passover on the 14th of Nisan, and appealed to an apostolic custom, particularly to their Apostles John and Philip. Now although the very mention of the latter is based upon a mistake and betrays its legendary character, it amounts to nothing to assume that these Apostles, being Jewish Christians (as Paul also certainly is, Acts xx. 6), followed the ancient sacred custom, when one of them as a historian could state that Jesus died before the feast and ate the Passover no more. Or the choice of that day may have had reference directly to the death of Jesus who was offered as the true passover for the people of God. The Christian festival of Easter is a matured fruit of Christian dogmatics, and certainly later than the apostolic period. Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1848, II., 1857, II., and *Tübinger Schule*, p. 82 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *ibidem*, 1849, II., and in his *Zeitschr.*, 1861, III., 1870, II.; idem, *Der Paschastreit der Alten Kirche*, H. 1860. On the other side, Hase, *Tüb. Schule*, p. 43 ff.; A. Réville, in the *Strassb. Revue*, Vol. XIII.; Steitz, in the *Studien*, 1856, IV.; 1857, IV.; J. Abt, *La controverse pascale et l'évang. de Jean*, Mont. 1860.

The circumstance that the Baptist is never distinguished from any other John of that time and circle by an adjunct, as in the Synoptists, perhaps shows that no such other stood over against him in the consciousness of the author, and that therefore the author was at all events not a forger.

On the relation of the Gospel to the Apocalypse see § 161.

The idea might commend itself to many that the Gospel was written by a pupil of John on the basis of genuine and original information; but the idea that two different pens were concerned in the book, and that the respective portions due to each can still be distinguished, sacrifices the spirit to the appearance and in fact is altogether too sharp-sighted. So, under various modifications, C. F. Ammon, *Joannes evangelii auctor ab editore diversus*, Erl. 1811; Rettig, in the *Giessener Ephemer.*, I. 83 ff.; Weisse, *Evang. Gesch.*, passim; idem, *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium*, 1856; A. Schweizer, *Das Evang. Johannes kritisch untersucht*, L. 1841. — (Tobler) *Die Evangelienfrage im allgemeinen und die johanneische insbesondere*, Z. 1858 (the book written by Apollos for Corinth); idem, *Das Evang. Joh. nach dem Grundtexte getreu wiedergegeben*, Schaffh. 1867 (reduces the genuine portions to less than a hundred verses). Cf. on these hypotheses Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1859, IV.; 1868, IV.

Against the genuineness: (Vogel) *Der Evang. Joh. und seine Ausleger vor dem jüngsten Gericht*, 1801, 2 Pts.; Horst, in Henke's *Mus.*, I. 47 ff.; H. C. Ballenstedt, *Philo und Joh.*, Gött. 1812; C. T. Bretschneider, *Probabilia de evang. et epp. joan. origine*, L. 1820; B. Bauer, *Kritik der evang. Geschichte des Joh.*, Br. 1840; E. C. J. Lützelberger, *Die kirchl. Tradition über Joh.*, L. 1840. — For the latest literature of the Tübingen school see § 213. Also Schnitzer, in the *Jahrb.*, 1842; Zeller, *ibidem*, 1845, IV.; 1847, I.; Hilgenfeld, § 217 and *Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1847, I. 633; Schwegler, *Montanismus*, p. 183; Stap (§ 208), p. 232 ff., 318 ff.; J. C. Matthes, in the *Leidner*

theol. Zeitschr. 1867, p. 521 ff. ; J. H. Scholten, *Het Evang. naar Johannes*, Leyd. 1864 ; French translation in the *Strassb. Revue*, 1864 ff. ; cf. Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1868, II. [J. J. Tayler, *Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel*, Lond. 1867, 2d ed. 1871; Davidson, *Introd.*, II. 323 ; *Was John the Author of the Fourth Gospel?* Anon., Lond. 1868; *Supernatural Religion*, Anon., II. 251, 6th ed. Lond. 1875 ; E. A. Abbott, *Art. Gospels*, in *Encycl. Brit.*, Vol. X. 1879 ; see also Prof. Abbot's bibliographical appendix to *Art. John, Gospel of*, in *Smith's Dict.*]

In favor of it : F. W. Schlecker, *Widerlegung der Einwürfe*, etc., Rost. 1802 ; A. F. G. Glaser, *De Joanne apost. evang. autore*, Helmst. 1806 ; Süsskind, in *Flatt's Mag.*, IX., XI. ; G. H. v. Griethuysen, *Pro evang. Joan. authentia*, Hard. 1806 ; *Authentia evang. joan. vindicata*, Tüb. 1818 ; H. A. Schott, *Examen dub. Bretschneideri*, etc., Jena, 1820 ; C. W. Stein, *Authentia evang. Joan.*, Brand. 1822 ; A. G. Calmberg, *Patrum testimonia*, etc., Hamb. 1822 ; J. T. Hemsen, *Die Authentie der Schr. des Joh.*, Schl. 1823 ; L. Usteri, *Evang. joan. genuinum*, Tur. 1823 ; F. G. Crome, *Probabilia haud probabilia*, L. 1824 ; B. Froster, *Anim. in Bretschn. probabilia*, Hels. 1829 ; C. V. Hauff, *Authentie und Werth des Evang. Joh.*, Nürnberg. 1831 [also in the *Studien*, 1846, p. 550 ff.] ; Frommann, in the *Studien*, 1840, IV. ; Lange, *Leben Jesu*, I. 169 ff. [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1872] ; Ebrard, *Evang. Joh.*, Zür. 1845, and *Kritik der evang. Gesch.*, II. 1005 [also in Herzog's *Encykl.*, 1861, 1868, and 1880, and, abridged, in Schaff-Herzog, N. Y. 1883] ; A. Viguié, *Auth. de l'évang. de S. Jean*, Mont. 1848 ; G. C. Mayer, *Die Echtheit des Evang. Joh.*, Schaffh. 1854 ; Ewald in his *Jahrb. der bibl. Wissenschaft*, 1859, 1865 [III., V., VIII., X., XII. ; and *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1866, p. 913]. O. Theinius, *Das Evangelium der Evangelien*, L. 1865 ; C. Leuschner, *Das Evang. S. Johannis und seine neuesten Widersacher*, Halle, 1873 ; Niermeyer (§ 161). [Baur and others on the Fourth Gospel, Art. in the *National Rev.*, July, 1857 ; C. A. Row, *Historical Character of the Gospels tested*, in *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, Oct. 1865 and July, 1866, also his *Jesus of the Evangelists*, Lond. 1868, p. 223, 391 ; J. I. Mombert, *Origin of the Gospels*, in *Bib. Sac.*, Oct. 1866 ; Van Oosterzee, *Das Johannesevangelium, vier Vorträge*, Gütersl. 1867 ; E. tr. by J. F. Hurst, T. & T. Clark, 1869 ; J. F. Clarke, *The Fourth Gospel and its Author*, in *Christ. Examiner*, Jan. 1868 ; Sanday, *Authorship and Historical Char. of the Fourth Gospel*, Lond. 1872 ; Beyschlag, in the *Studien*, 1874, 1875 ; Luthardt, *St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, E. tr. by Gregory, Edinb. 1875 ; Lightfoot, in *Cont. Rev.*, 1875-77 ; Geo. P. Fisher, *Beginnings of Christianity*, 1877, ch. X. and Art. *The Fourth Gospel*, in *Princeton Rev.*, July, 1881 ; Westcott, *Introd. and Comm.* ; Godet, *Comm.* ; McClellan, *The Four Gospels*, 1875 ; Milligan, in *Cont. Rev.*, 1867, 1868, 1871, and *Comm.*, 1880 ; Ezra Abbot, *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel : External Evidences*, Boston, 1880 ; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I., 408 ff. and *Smith's Dict.* as above.]

Cf. in general Lücke, *Johannes*, I. 70 ff. ; J. F. Pfitzenmeyer, *Aperçu des controverses*, etc., Str. 1847 ; Hase, *Die Tübinger Schule*, 1855, pp. 1-59 ; A. Kayser, in the *Strassb. Revue*, XII. The history of criticism is given very fully by Holtzmann, in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, VIII. 56 ff.

Exegetical helps : S. G. Lange, *Die Schriften des vertrauten Schülers Jesu*, 1795 ff., 3 Pts. ; C. G. F. Lücke, *Comm. über die Schriften des Ev. Joh.* (1820), 3d ed. 1843, Pts. 1-4 ; H. Ewald, *Die joh. Schriften*, Gött. 1861 f., 2 vols.

On the Gospel in particular : F. A. Lampe, 1725 ; J. L. v. Mosheim, 1777 ; S. J. Baumgarten, Halle, 1762 ; J. S. Semler, Halle, 1771 ; F. W. Hezel, Frankf. 1792 ; S. F. N. Morus, 2d ed. L. 1808 ; P. Breitenstein, Marb. 1813 ; C. C. Tittmann, L. 1816 [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1844] ; F. G. Mayer, Linz, 1820 ; M. Wirth, Ulm, 1829 ; H. Klee, Mainz, 1829 ; A. Tholuck, Hamb. (1827) 7th ed. 1857 ; [E. tr. T. & T. Clark]. G. C. R. Matthæi, Gött. 1837, Pt. I. ; L. F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius, Jena, 1843 ff., 2 Pts. ; A.

Maier, Carlsr. 1843 f. 2 Pts.; Luthardt (§ 221); E. W. Hengstenberg, 1861 f. [2d ed. 1867; E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1865]; Meyer (§ 592), 4th ed. 1862; B. B. Brückner, 1863; W. Bäumlein, 1863; (Astié) *Explication de l'Évang. selon S. Jean*, Gen. 1863; F. Godet, *Commentaire*, etc., Paris, 1864, 2 vols. [3d ed. 1881; E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1883; H. J. Ripley, Boston, 1837; T. J. Conant, N. Y. 1860; W. H. Van Doren, N. Y. 1870, 2 vols.; E. H. Sears, *The Fourth Gospel, the Heart of Christ*, 4th ed. Boston, 1874; Westcott, in *Speaker's Comm.*, 1879; Keil, 1881; Plummer, 1881.]

The numerous modern monographs on single chapters and important passages must be omitted, except so far as they have already been cited above, § 217 ff. On ch. xxi. see § 239.

227. The Epistle which has just been mentioned and which is generally called the First, although in different form and having a different perspective, is a companion piece to the Gospel of John. It is addressed to the same circle of readers and designed to present to them the practical side of the Gnosis there laid down and to raise them to the higher consecration of the inner life. It has much more to do with actual facts, makes clear reference to existing errors in doctrine, particularly to the separation of the Spirit of God, Christ, and the man Jesus into two persons, and to false tendencies in life, as they were then present in the existing churches, and consents to religious conceptions which, from the mystic point of view, would be rejected by the theologian, but which to the preacher would not for that reason appear any the less true or useful. At least we cannot avoid recognizing in this latter circumstance the traces of greatly divergent phases of development of the faith.

It is less an epistle than any other book in the New Testament,—more properly a homiletical essay, at the most a pastoral letter which has its readers present, doubtless even in a local sense. All that belongs to the form of a letter from a distance is lacking, both at the beginning and end. (The opposite view, Ziegler, in *Henke's Mag.*, V. 254.)

A plan can be pointed out in the little book only with difficulty and at the expense of the hearty simplicity of the course of thought. Yet it is easy to recognize as the guiding thread of the discourse, the keynote everywhere heard, the reality of the salvation made manifest bodily in Christ, and love (among believers) conditioned upon the fellowship of faith and sanctification. That the author now and again dwells for some time upon one idea, and, so to speak, emphasizes and expands certain striking expressions, does not prove, in the absence of all dialectic art, and even of all transitions, that he worked according to a scheme. The best proof of the opposite is the difficulty and variety of the analyses attempted. (D. Erdmann, *Primæ Ep. Joan. argum. nexus consilium*, B. 1855; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1859, IV.) C. E. Luthardt, *De primæ Joannis ep. compositione*, L. 1860; G. T. Stricker, *Introd. analytique*, etc., Str. 1862; J. Stockmeyer, *Die Structur des ersten Joh. Briefes*, Basel, 1873.

An attack upon Docetic ideas is evident in iv. 1 ff., cf. i. 1 ff., ii. 18 ff.; but such ideas, together with related phenomena of a dualistic Gnosis, reach back into the apostolic age (§§ 72, 116 ff.).—S. Gfrörer, *Urchristenthum*, II. 368 ff.; H. A. Niemeyer, *De docetis*, Hal. 1823; Dähne, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyklop.*, I. Pt. 26.—J. C. F. Löffler, *Ep. I. Johannis gnosticos impugnare negatur*, Frankf. a V. 1784; C. C. Platt, *De antichristis et*

pseudoprophetis in ep. joan., Tüb. 1809 ; F. H. Kern, *De Ep. consilio*, Tüb. 1830.

Augustine, *Quæst. evang.*, II. 39, and after him many, also Latin Codices, designate the Epistle as written *Ad Parthos*. This peculiarity is not explained ; it may possibly have been caused by confusion with the designation of the 2d epistle, *Πρὸς παρθένους*, which occurs in the fragments of Clement of Alexandria.

Exegetical helps on all three epistles (§§ 142, 226) : S. F. N. Morus, L. 1786 ; E. F. C. Oertel, 1795 ; H. E. G. Paulus, Heidelb. 1829 ; J. E. F. Sander, Elb. 1851 ; J. E. Huther, 1855 [4th ed. 1880 ; E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1882] ; F. Düsterdieck, 1852 ff., 3 vols. [Lücke, 2d ed. 1836, E. tr. Edinb. 1837 ; 3d German ed. 1856 ; F. D. Maurice, 1857, new ed. 1867 ; Ebrard, 1859, E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1860 ; C. Braune, in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, E. tr. by Mombert, N. Y. 1867 ; Rothe, ed. Mühlhäuser, 1879 ; C. A. Wolf, 1881.] On special passages, by C. F. Fritzsche, in Henke's *Mus.*, III. 104 ff. ; Ziegler, in Gabler's *Journal*, III. 1 ff.

On the first : J. S. Semler, 1792 ; H. C. Ballenstedt, 1802 ; *Sendschreiben*, etc., 1827 (§ 86) ; C. Rickli, Luc. 1828 ; E. Haupt, Colb. 1869 [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1879] ; C. F. Wunder, *Utrum prima ep. Joan. coetui e Judæis et judæo-christianis mixto scripta sit*, Witt. 1799. [Neander, B. 1851, E. tr. by Mrs. H. C. Conant, N. Y. 1852 ; R. Candlish, Edinb. 1866.]

The passage 1 Jn. v. 7, upon which numerous monographs have been written, plays a not unimportant part in the history of the text. See the larger critical editions.

228. Since this Epistle does not itself name its author, the question of its genuineness will mean only so much as this : first, whether tradition is right in ascribing it to the Apostle John ; and secondly, whether it actually and necessarily has the same author as the Fourth Gospel. The answer to the first question never yet has been, nor can it well be, attempted without regard to the last-named work ; the inner relationship between the two writings is so obvious, and from the most ancient times the conviction has been so unwaveringly expressed that they belonged together, that it has not seemed possible to admit the apostolic origin of the one without the other. The same reasons appear to us sufficient for affirming the second point also, which has been denied in modern times. Which of the two writings is the earlier may still be doubtful. For us, the Epistle needs the Gospel as a commentary ; but inasmuch as at the first it had one in the oral instructions of the author, it is not thereby proved that it is the later.

The number of theological conceptions, peculiar both in themselves and in their expression, which are common to both works, is very remarkable, and should scarcely need to be mentioned : ἀλήθεια, ζωὴ, φῶς, μαρτυρία, ἐντολή, μονογενὴς, κόσμος, and the phrases formed with these words ; also μένειν ἐν, εἶναι ἐκ, ὁρᾶν, γινώσκειν, ἀγαπᾶν, τιθέναι ψυχὴν, φανεροῦν, θεᾶσθαι, περιπατεῖν, and many others. Cf. Dion. Alex., in Euseb., *H. E.*, vii. 25 : *συνάδουσιν ἀλλήλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή*.

Only in eschatology does the Epistle seem to show an essentially different theological stage from the Gospel. For in the former alone occur the conceptions and forms of expression of the ordinary Jewish Christian and apostolic expectations, ii. 18, 28. But this does not constitute a radical diver-

gence, such as would compel us to assume a different author. The doctrine of the Antichrist (cf. iv. 3) is spiritualized; faith has even here overcome fear of the judgment, iv. 17; Jewish materialism gives place to a Christian hope of the future, iii. 2; the spiritual resurrection in faith is found explicitly, iii. 14. To attribute the difference that perhaps still remains to an earlier stage of development is unnecessary; to refer it to the divergence between master and disciple, inadmissible; it is sufficient, certainly, to remind ourselves that a self-contained and self-content mysticism may turn its attention away from the future, while yet the conditions and prospects thereof must not be put in the background, concealed from the people, or neglected, by the preacher.

The traces of Montanism which some have attempted to find (the sacredness of Christianity, *χρῖσμα*, distinction between mortal sins and others) depend upon exegetical extravagance, and overlook the parallels in the Gospels and Epistles, Mt. xii. 31, 2 Cor. i. 21, etc. It would no doubt be true that the Paraclete, 1 Jn. ii. 1, has an un-Johannean signification, and Christ himself an office of which the Fourth Gospel knows nothing, provided Jn. xiv.-xvi. necessarily made any essential distinction between the Spirit and the glorified Christ, and the petition Jn. xvii. 9 ff., Rom. viii. 34 were not an early apostolic idea. The circumstance that the destructive criticism could fix now upon the Gospel and now upon the Epistle as representing the higher stage of development is not calculated to arouse great confidence in its arguments.

Patristic testimonies go back farther for the Epistle than for the Gospel. Papias in Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39; Polycarp, *Ad Philipp.*, vii. The Epistle itself makes claim (i. 1 ff.; iv. 14), and in an unsuspecting way, to have been written by an eye-witness of the gospel history.

For older doubts respecting the genuineness, so far as they affect the Gospel likewise, see § 226. Also J. E. C. Schmidt, *Bibl.*, I. 69. On the other side, M. Weber, *Authentia ep. I. Joan. vindicata*, Hal. 1823. The Tübingen criticism, regarding Gospel and Epistle alike as post-apostolic, hesitates between the assumption of one author (Köstlin, Zeller) or two, in which case either the Gospel (Baur, *Jahrb.*, 1848, III.; 1857, III.) or the Epistle (Hilgenfeld, *Evang. Joh.*, 1849, and *Jahrb.*, 1855, IV.), is regarded as older. Cf. Grimm, *Studien*, 1847, I.; 1849, II. A careful comparison of the two writings, for the purpose of proving the diversity of authors and the priority of the Gospel, is given by S. Hoekstra in the *Leidner theol. Zeitschr.*, 1867, p. 137 ff.

229. Beside this so-called First Epistle of John, a second and a third have also been preserved, both nameless, and not appearing in tradition until somewhat later. They are short notes to a Christian matron and to a certain Caius, — occasional writings, whose immediate occasion and recipients are alike unknown to us. In view of their slight extent and still slighter theological significance, their later mention is intelligible, but the determination of the author difficult. A certain similarity to the greater Epistle in single expressions and constructions is not to be denied. An ancient confusion of the son of Zebedee with a contemporary presbyter at Ephesus of the same name is always a possibility; but we cannot regard the superscription as a sure indication of this, and under so intimate personal relations forgery is out of the question. The

last epistle mentions still another pastoral letter of the same author to the church of Caius.

Johannean forms of expression are, in particular, the frequent use of ἀλήθεια in various connections, 2 Jn. 1-4; 3 Jn. 1, 3, 4, 8, 12; ἐντολή καινή, 2 Jn. 5, with ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν; περιπατεῖν ἐν, 2 Jn. 4, 6; 3 Jn. 3, 4; ἀντίχριστος, 2 Jn. 7; the emphasis on ἐρχεσθαι ἐν σαρκί, 2 Jn. 7; χαρὰ πεπληρωμένη, 2 Jn. 12; μαρτυρία ἀληθής, 3 Jn. 12; ἐκ θεοῦ, ὁρᾶν, 3 Jn. 11, etc.

Whether Κυρία is a proper name or an expression of respect may be disputed: C. H. Ritmeier, *De electa domina*, Helmst. 1706; C. A. Krigele, *De Κυρία Joannis*, L. 1758; A. W. Knauer, in the *Studien*, 1833, II.; Laurent, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1865, II. — Hilgenfeld, *Evang. Joh.*, p. 498, sees in the Κυρία only an abstraction for the individual church, and in the whole Epistle only an extract from the first. Tobler (§ 226) regards it as a letter of commendation from one church to another. More definitely, he finds in the Third Epistle a letter from Apollos to Caius of Corinth. (1 Cor. i. 14; Rom. xvi. 23.)

On the presbyter John, see the Introductions to the Apocalypse and § 161.

The strict rejection of heretics, 2 Jn. 10, is not an argument against the Johannean authorship, since the First Epistle and the Gospel also make the division between the two tendencies of life very deep.

J. B. Carpov, *Ep. Jo. secunda*, in his *Theol. exegetica*, p. 105-208; H. G. B. Müller, *Comm. in sec. Ep. Joan.*, Schleiz, 1783; J. J. Rambonnet, *De sec. ep. joannea*, Traj. 1818; C. Klug, *De authentia ep. Joan. secundæ*, Tüb. 1823. — C. A. Heumann, *Comm. in Joan. ep. III.* (in the *Nova Syll.*, I. 276); *Senioris ep. ad Caium*, Helmst. 1778; J. C. Stemler, *De Diotrephe*, L. 1758. — P. L. Gachon, *Authenticité de la 2e et 3e ép. de Jean*, Mont. 1851. [S. Cox, *The Private Letters of St. Paul and John*, Lond. 1867.]

230. These Johannean writings worthily crowned the work of the Apostle. In words almost prophetic they pointed out to the Church the way in which it must gradually work up out of the deep-worn and hard-beaten paths of the old ideas, which Paul had aptly called the elements of the world. But the movement had already begun to abate which once, under the leadership of highly inspired and energetic men, bid fair to realize on earth the wondrous things of the kingdom of God; the succeeding generation gradually lost the consciousness of the divine spirit reigning within them, and with it the purifying power of knowledge. The pressure from without would not have choked the good seed had their minds been able to add to the warmth of their hope the understanding of it, in its ideal sense. But the process of separation between the old faith and the new was checked before the nature and aim of the latter were fully comprehended, and the books of the more gifted disciples remained enigmas to be solved only in a distant future.

Great religious revolutions, led by superior minds and strong characters, always carry with them a great number of crude minds, in which conviction is either less deep, or is directed toward incidental points, and which therefore, when the first impulse is spent, or the leaders are gone, suddenly appear in the foreground as a numerical majority, in which the spiritual

element no longer bears rule. But in view of the inequality of men, no reproach can be cast upon any one in consequence. The leaders of the movement gain in fame with their grandchildren, and these, gradually following them, at last gladly and obediently gather about their names and watchwords (§ 295). Israel had passed through the same experience with her prophets.

231. This intellectual and moral stagnation reacted upon the literature. There arose no more a Paul or a John. The little that was written in the succeeding decades bears no comparison with the apostolic models, which had drawn from the rich springs of the Spirit. But it is not only the energy of the discourse and the strong personality of the speaker that are lacking in the writings of this period. Even more striking to a reader of them is the inability of the writers to keep themselves upon the heights of their thought so as to ennoble the often petty interests of the moment, to say nothing of finding new points of view or deeper approaches to a truth never fully learned. The new-born Church needed the quiet of slumber in order to recover from the convulsive effort of her first breath of life. A half century passed before she opened her eyes again to the fructifying sun of thought. This new period, however, lies beyond the scope of our subject.

Historically we know little of this period. There is no evidence that important writings have been lost. No prominent names can be found either in tradition or in extant works. The much-mentioned Clement represents only the manifold, contradictory tendencies of a later time.

The theological result of this stagnation is very evident : from the Gospel, as pure gain, the blotting out of sins by the blood of Christ ; no longer, however, through living faith and inner regeneration, but through outward purification, a *caput mortuum* of the preaching of Paul ; from the Law, the much-disputed circumcision given up ; the remaining less important matters of public worship accommodated ; in the form of church government the synagogue overcome ; the expectations of the future grossly materialized.

C. Vitringa, *De statu eccl. a Nerone ad Trajanum* (Obs., p. 961 ff.); Kestner (§ 235); De Wette, in the *Halle Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1820, I. 1 ; Bengel's *Archiv*, V. 187 ; Heubner, in Reinhard's *Plan Jesu*, p. 420 ff.

More comprehensive special works on this period, from the older standpoint : J. Clericus, *Hist. eccl. duorum primorum sæcc.*, Amst. 1716 ; J. F. Cotta, *Ausführl. Kirchenhistorie*, Tüb. 1768, 3 vols. ; A. F. v. Gudenus, *Gesch. der ersten christl. Jahrh.*, Würzb. 1783 ; *Gesch. des zweiten*, etc., Erf. 1787 ; C. A. v. Reichlin-Meldegg, *Gesch. d. Christenthums*, Freyb. 1830, 2 vols. ; E. de Pressensé, *Hist. des trois premiers siècles*, Paris, 1858 ff., 5 vols. [E. tr. by Annie Harwood, Lond. 1870 ff., 4 vols.]—On the basis of the results of the criticism of Baur and his school : A. Schweigler, *Das nachap. Zeitalter*, Tüb. 1846, 2 vols. (cf. on this work Franck, in the *Württemb. Studien*, 1848, II.) ; F. C. Baur, *Das Chr. der drei ersten Jahrh.*, Tüb. 1853 ; A. Hilgenfeld, *Das Urchristenthum in den Hauptwendepunkten seines Entwicklungsgangs*, Jena, 1855 (cf. the same author in his *Zeitschr.*, 1864, II.) ; Ewald, *Gesch. Israëls*, Pt. 7 ; A. Réville, *L'Église chr. aux deux premiers siècles*, in his *Essais de critique relig.*, Paris, 1860.—G. Uhlhorn, *Die älteste Kirchengesch. in ihrer neuesten Darstellung*, in the *Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.*, 1857, III. ; 1858, II., III.

232. Here are to be noticed a few writings which in their origin stand near to the apostolic circle, and for several reasons should be here mentioned ; chiefly because it is only after these that a final break occurs in the history of the Christian books. We are constrained also by the circumstance that the judgment of the early teachers of the Church varied as to whether these writings were to be reckoned as apostolic. These monuments of a dark time have in any case a certain value, not only for us, and because we have none more complete, but in themselves, as well-meant attempts at the instruction of their contemporaries, whose upbuilding and protection from error and sin the younger associates of the Apostles sought to promote, with a less measure of the Spirit, to be sure, yet upon firmly laid foundations.

The ordinary classification — Canonical Books, Apostolic Fathers, Fathers, — has no longer any value in the present stage of historical science, however legitimate in the ecclesiastical field the separation of the first class from the two following may be. In the first two classes criticism finds several writings by apostolic men, but also (at least in the second) others which do not rightly bear this name.

233. The best known among these didactic writings of a later time is the short and enigmatical Epistle of Jude. It announces itself as a general epistle to all Christians. Yet the errors combated in it, which appear to be rather of an ethical than a dogmatic nature, probably belong to a particular locality, whose state gave occasion for the writing. The author calls himself a brother of James, and since he at the same time excludes himself from the number of the Apostles, in the narrower sense, it is certainly natural to connect him with the celebrated president of the Church at Jerusalem, after whose death he may have taken an important place in it. But this peculiar introduction, betraying design, arouses a suspicion which nothing in the contents is fitted to set aside. The Epistle does not make a favorable impression, not so much because it appears to refer in great part to Jewish books and fables, as because at our distance the passionate and excited discourse, in view of our complete ignorance of its reference, must fail of its effect.

The traditional opinion recognizes in the author one of the twelve, who is called by Luke, vi. 16, Judas of James, and who for harmonistic purposes is identified with the Apostle Thaddeus (Lebbeus). But this view is contradicted by vs. 17.

One Judas, brother of the Lord and consequently also of the well-known James of the Acts, is known not only to the gospel tradition, Mt. xiii. 55, Mk. vi. 3, but also to Hegesippus, in Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 19, 20. Yet others preferred to think of Judas Barsabas, or of a bishop of Jerusalem who lived under Hadrian (Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 5).

Attempts at a historical explanation have hitherto been unsuccessful for the further reason that critics have allowed themselves to be too easily misled into trying to bring the errors combated into connection with otherwise known dogmatic heresies, for which comparison with the Second Epistle of Peter gave occasion. The information given by Hegesippus (Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 32 ; iv. 22) of the condition of the church at Jerusalem, at the end of the century, appears to throw but little light, if any at all, upon the Epistle (Credner, I. 618). — A. Ritschl, *Ueber die im Brief des Judas characterisirten Antinomisten* (Studien, 1861, I.) ; Ewald, *Gesch. Israëls*, VII. 180 ff.

Particular attention has always been excited by the quotations from the book of Enoch and from an apocryphal history of the death of Moses. These two works do not belong in our history (§ 293), but in that of Jewish literature. The older science could theorize on the matter at pleasure (Bang, *Cælum orientis*, p. 16 ; Cunæus, *Resp. Hebr.*, p. 8, 395, ed. Nicolai ; Pfeifer, *Crit. sac.*, p. 15 ; Jurieu, *Hist. des dogmes*, p. 24 ; Supplement to *Allgem. Welthistorie*, VI. 114 ; Buddeus, *Hist. eccl. V. T.*, I. 162 ; the expositors on Gen. v. 24 ; especially Drusius, *Enoch*, in the *Critici sacr.*, Pt. VI.). But since the text of Enoch has been rediscovered apologetics has been endeavoring to render it harmless here by separating the genuine from the spurious, etc. (Preiswerk, *Morgenl.*, IV. 257 ; J. F. v. Meyer, in the *Studien*, 1841, III. ; E. Murray, *Enoch restitutus*, Lond. 1836, etc.) Cf. in general A. G. Hoffmann, in the Halle *Encykl.*, II. 5, and his translation of the Ethiopic text and the Prolegomena of Laurence, 1833. For the modern literature on the book of Enoch we refer to the Biblical cyclopædias. — In former times also numberless apologetic dissertations were written upon vs. 9. See in general E. Arnaud, *Les citations apocryphes de Jude*, Str. 1849 ; J. E. Carpenter, in the *Theol. Review*, 1868, p. 259 ff.

That the Epistle must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem is not a logically correct conclusion from its silence respecting this event (Guerike), but the postulate of a criticism which can only in this way save the genuineness of the Second Epistle of Peter.

Cf. in general the literature on the Epistle of James and the second of Peter ; also C. Vitringa, *De argum. ep. Petri II. et Judæ* (Iken's *Thes.*, II. 982) ; A. Jessien, *De authentia ep. Judæ*, L. 1821 ; L. A. Arnaud, *Essai crit. sur l'auth.*, etc., Str. 1835 ; F. Brun, *Introd. crit. à l'ép. de Jude*, Str. 1842 ; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, I. 518 ; E. F. Gelpke, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, II. 26 ; E. Arnaud, *Recherches critiques sur l'ép. de Jude avec commentaire*, Str. 1851 [trans. in *Brit. and For. Ev. Rev.*, Jul. 1859] ; Guerike, *Beiträge*, 175.

Commentaries : Witsius, *Meletem.*, p. 451 ff. ; J. S. Hanke, L. 1748 ; C. F. Schmidt, L. 1768 ; Corrodi, *Beiträge*, II. 132 ; Semler, Hal. 1784 ; F. I. Hasse, Jena, 1786 ; C. F. Hartmann, Cöth. 1793 ; Morus, L. 1794 ; G. Elias, Traj. 1803 ; H. C. A. Hänlein, Erl. 1804 ; M. T. Laurman, Grön. 1818 ; Schneckenburg, *Beiträge*, 214 ff. (and § 142) ; R. Stier, B. 1850 ; J. E. Huther (with Peter, § 149) [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1882] ; M. F. Rampf, 1854 ; C. E. Scharling (with James, § 145). — Ewald, *Sieben Sendschreiben*, p. 74 ff. [Fronmüller, in Lange, 1862, trans. by Mombert, N. Y. 1867 ; Wiesinger, in Olshausen (with 2 Pet.), 1862 ; Schott, 1863 (with 2 Pet.) ; Barnes, N. Y. 1847 ; John Lillie, N. Y. 1854 ; F. Gardiner, Boston, 1856, with an Excursus and Appendix on the similarity between this Ep. and 2 Peter, abridged from his article in the *Bib. Sac.*, Jan. 1854.] — On the theological element cf. Schmid, *Bibl. Theol.*, II. 140. — For others, see under 2 Peter, § 269.

234. To a different sphere belongs the epistle ascribed by many ancient fathers to Barnabas, the friend of Paul and a

former Cypriote Levite. It has come down to us in two recensions. The Latin text, very imperfect, contains a treatise on the abrogation of the Law, the ordinances of which are allegorically explained and referred to Christian ideas. This is done, however, with much less intelligence and good taste than in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in comparison with which this stands in general upon a lower theological plane. The Greek text, the beginning of which has only lately been discovered, contains in addition, at the end, a moralizing description of the ways of light and darkness. The question of the genuineness of the Epistle has only too often been made dependent upon the view taken of the value of its contents, the more so since there are really no conclusive grounds of decision. At the present day, however, probably few would regard the preacher of the early church as the author.

Editions by H. Ménard, Paris, 1645 ; I. Vossius, Amst. 1646 ; J. J. Mader, Helmst. 1655 ; G. Volkmar, Z. 1864 ; also in St. Le Moine, *Varia Sacra*, 1865, with a full commentary, and in the larger collections of the so-called Apostolic Fathers, by Coutelier, Clericus, Hefele, Dressel. Also, together with Clement to the Corinthians, in Hilgenfeld's *N. T. extra canonem receptum*, L. 1866, 4 vols. The hitherto known Greek text, preserved in very few manuscripts, begins in the midst of a sentence of the 5th chapter ; the Latin ends with the 17th ; the whole has 21 chapters. A complete copy of the Greek text is found in the Codex Sinaiticus, discovered by Tischendorf (§ 392). [Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, L. 1876 ; Saml. Sharpe, *Ep. of Barnabas from the Sinaitic MS.*, Lond. 1880.]

The genuineness has been disputed by Ménard, Coutelier, Spanheim, Daillé, Oudin, Basnage, Mosheim, Tillemont, Semler, Rösler, and others ; more recently also by Ullmann, in the *Studien*, 1828, II. ; Mynster, *ibidem*, 1829, II. ; Neander, *Church Hist.*, III. 733 ; Hug, in the *Freiburger Zeitschr.*, II. 138 ; Winer, in the *Real-Wörterb.* ; C. J. Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben des Bar.*, Tüb. 1840 ; J. Kayser, *Ueber den sogen. Barnabasbrief*, Pad. 1866 ; Hilgenfeld and others.

It has been defended, after Voss, Du Pin, Galland, Henke, Münscher, J. E. C. Schmidt, J. G. Rosenmüller, Gieseler, and others, by E. Henke, *De ep. Bar. authentia*, Jena, 1827 ; J. C. Roerdam, *De ep. Bar. authentia*, Havn. 1828.

D. Schenkel, in the *Studien*, 1837, III., takes a middle course, allowing only chs. i.-vi., xiii., xiv., xvii., to be genuine. A dismemberment to the extent of rejecting the appendix, which is not preserved in the Latin, is in the highest degree justifiable. As to the age, consequently also as to the author, of the rest, there is no external evidence, but only internal. (Cf. Hefele, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1839, I.) It is further to be noticed that the author nowhere, either intentionally or unintentionally, gives any clue to his personality.

The Epistle is characterized (1) by a decided anti-Judaism ; (2) by an exceedingly imperfect Paulinism. In both of its portions it belongs to a period, or at least to a tendency, in which the Pauline doctrine of the Law and faith had on two sides changed its original contents into something foreign, or, more briefly, had given place to another phase of theology. On the first point it goes so far as absolutely to deny all value to historico-legal Mosaism (chs. iii., iv., xiv. 9), so that, even for Israel under the Old Cove-

nant, only the typico-ideal sense was valid, while the circumcision of the flesh came from the devil. Thus it forms the middle term between Paul and Gnosticism, and might well be acceptable to the Alexandrians (Clement, *Stromata*, II. 373, 375, 389, 396, 410; V. 571, 577, ed. Sylb.; Origen, I. 140, 378; IV. 473, Ruæus), but by the Church, which after the time of Paul retained so many half-Jewish things, it could only be rejected. The non-validity of the Law for Christians is nowhere theologically proved because it is assumed as a fundamental postulate. On the second point, only meagre fragments of the Pauline gospel appear. Faith, grace, calling, are wanting, and it preaches the enlightenment of the intellect for the typical understanding of the Scriptures and the incitement of the will to saving works. Thus it stands upon the highway which the Church has in general followed, reducing Paulinism to a couple of abstract dogmas, and amalgamating them so far as possible with an ethical system resting upon a different basis. *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 557 (3d ed. 305) [E. tr. II. 276]. Otherwise A. Kayser, *L'épître de Barnabas*, in the *Strassb. Revue de Théol.*, II. 202. Cf. Ittig, *Hist. sec. primi*, p. 121 ff.; G. F. Redslob, *Doctrina fidei quam expos. PP. ap.*, Arg. 1829; W. Steiger, *Mélanges*, I. 1; C. E. Franke, in Rudelbach's *Zeitschr.*, 1840, II.; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 390 ff. [E. tr. II. 119].

A hitherto overlooked argument for the proportionately higher antiquity of the book is ch. xv. at the end: "We spend in joy the eighth day, on which Jesus rose, appeared, and ascended into heaven," ἀνέστη καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. When this was written our Gospels can as yet have had no exclusive authority, if they were in existence at all, for all but the third contradict this statement. Yet this view has since been much disputed. For other explanations see J. Kayser, *l. l.*, p. 106. The Epistle therefore seems certainly to belong to the first century. Other modern opinions vary from the time of Vespasian to that of Hadrian.

Cf. in general Rosenmüller, *Hist. interp.*, I. 42 ff.; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, II. 240; Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, p. 264 ff.; Heberle, in Stirn's *Studien*, 1846, I. [also Art. by same author in Herzog's *Encykl.*]; Fabricius, *Bibl. græc.*, III. 173; V. 3; J. van Gilse, *De PP. apostolicorum doctrina morali*, 1833; Hilgenfeld, *Die apost. Väter*, Halle, 1853, and in his *Zeitschr.*, 1870, I.; Holtzmann, *ibidem*, 1871, III.; Wieseler, in the *Jahrb. d. Theol.*, 1870, IV.; full commentary by J. G. Müller, L. 1869; German translation with notes by C. J. Riggenbach, Basel, 1873. On the date in particular, Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, I. 282; Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, VII. 136 ff.; Weizsäcker, *Zur Kritik des Bar. Briefs*, Tüb. 1863; Volkmar, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1865, IV. [Donaldson, *Hist. of Chr. Lit. and Doctr.*, I. 201, Lond. 1864; Cunningham, *Diss. on the Ep. of Barnabas*, Lond. 1877; Harnack's article in Schaff-Herzog.]

235. Finally there belongs here the Epistle which Clement, a bishop of the church at Rome, is said to have written in its name to that at Corinth on occasion of certain controversies which had broken out in the latter. Without expressing himself as to their nature and origin, he endeavors to lead the Corinthians back to peace by considerations and appeals of many kinds, not remarkable either in thought or in form of expression, supported by numerous references to the Old Testament. The opinion that this Epistle was written before the destruction of the Jewish temple is based upon a misconception. But it is important to recognize the fact that no clearly defined dogmatic tendency is to be discovered in it, as would have been

the case had the author taken part vigorously either for or against Paul in the great question of the Law. The earlier controversies vanish here, perhaps from love of peace, but more likely from intellectual impotence.

Editions : first by P. Junius, Oxf. 1633 ; H. Wotton, Camb. 1718 ; in the collection of Apostolic Fathers by T. Ittig, L. 1699 ; J. L. Frey, Bas. 1742 ; Jacobson, 1838 ; J. C. M. Laurent, L. 1870 (with complete bibliographical apparatus) ; J. B. Lightfoot, Lond. 1869, and in the works mentioned in § 234, all from the single Codex Alexandrinus (§ 392), whose text, partly effaced or grown dim from age, has necessarily been restored by conjecture in many single words. [An edition based on a newly discovered MS. in the library of the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Farnari, by Bryennios, Const. 1875 ; editions based on comparison of the two MSS., Gebhardt and Harnack, and Hilgenfeld, L. 1876.] The genuineness of the Epistle, which is frequently quoted by the early writers, has, it is true, been objected to by modern criticism (Baur, *Paulus*, 472 [E. tr. II. 61] ; Schwegler, *Neustestl. Zeitalter*, II. 125 ff.), yet not for conclusive reasons, see below ; also earlier by A. Calov, *Clem. ep. vothelas convinc.*, Vit. 1673. Eusebius bears witness to a use of it in the churches in ancient times (§§ 314, 317, 321), *H. E.*, iii. 16 ; τοῦτου τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη μὴ ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία . . . ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείστοις ἐκκλησίαις δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐγναμεν, and indeed even in the second century, *H. E.*, iv. 23 (§ 294). After all, in view of the anonymous character of the Epistle and the discrepancies of tradition respecting the person of Clement, it is difficult to speak of genuineness. The integrity of the work has also been doubted, especially by Mosheim, who rejected a whole series of chapters ; the opposite conclusion is safer, inasmuch as there is a gap after ch. lvii., and the ancients quote much from the Epistle which is now no longer there.

Clement of Rome (certainly not the one mentioned in Phil. iv. 3), judging from the part he plays in the apocryphal literature, must have been a man of no little importance in the practical affairs of the Church ; whether from the confused mass of legend and fable which has attached itself to his name it will ever be possible to sift out a critical history is doubtful. The book of C. A. Kestner (*Die Agape oder der geheime Weltbund der Christen von Clemens gestiftet*, Jena, 1819) is nothing but a romance. Very much has already been done toward the sifting of the apocryphal material, especially by the Tübingen school and other contemporary critics, but this has first of all been shown, that party interest has modified the history in many ways, to such a degree, indeed, that the person of Clement was drawn over now to this side and now to that. Cf. Volkmar, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1856, III.

The theology of the Epistle is a totally colorless Paulinism, in which, strictly, only the forms of expression are left (i., ii., vii., xx., xxi., xxxii.) ; of a thorough use of the Epistle to the Romans in particular there is no trace. Mysticism is wanting, salvation is externally accomplished, works again come into the foreground after the manner of the Old Testament (xxxiii., xxxiv.), together with fear of the judgment (xxi., xxviii., xxxiv.), and the hierarchy (xl. f.). Paul, James, and the Epistle to the Hebrews (the last especially in ch. xxxvi.) are very obviously mingled in the theological dissertation on Abraham and Rahab (x., xii., xxxi.). The work of Christ is essentially teaching, like that of the prophets (vii., xxi., xxii.) ; faith is properly hope (xxvii., xxxii., xxxv.), but it is based perfectly well upon pre- and non-evangelical evidence (xxiv. ff.). Further see *Hist. de la Théol. Chrét.*, II. 607 (3d ed. 318). This may all be comprehended historically and charitably explained ; but the gospel content does not thereby become more vigorous.

Cf. in general Oudin, *Script.*, I. 19 ff.; Lardner, *Credibility*, etc., II. 1, p. 23 ff.; Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, III. 175; V. 31; J. G. Freudenberger, *Hist. recent. controversiæ de S. Clem. ep.*, L. 1755; J. Hanhard, in Schulthess' *Theol. Nachrichten*, II. 286; C. Thönnissen, *Abhandl.*, p. 1 ff.; A. Kayser, *Clément de Rome*, in the *Strassb. Revue*, II. 85 ff.; Schwegler, *l. c.*; E. Gundert, in the *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1853, IV. ff.; E. Ekker, *De Clem. Rom. ep. priore*, Traj. 1854; G. Uhlhorn, in Herzog's *Encycl.* [also in Schaff-Herzog]; R. A. Lipsius, *De priore ep. Clem.*, L. 1855; Stap, *Origines du Chr.*, p. 203 ff.; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1870, IV.; A. Réville, *Essais*, p. 51 ff.; upon the theological contents of the Epistle, also the literature under the preceding section. Also C. E. Franke, in the *Luth. Zeitschr.*, 1841, III.; F. J. Reuchlin, *Clem. R. doctrina*, Arg. 1738; C. E. Weissmann, *Clem. R. de justif. per fidem*, Tüb. 1732; Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus*, p. 405 ff. [E. tr. II. 135].

Knödel, *Hist. Analekten aus d. Brief des Clem. (Studien, 1862, IV.)*. — As to the date full certainty cannot, it is true, be attained, but in general opinions range within the period from the last years of Domitian to the first of Hadrian, and the most recent critics favor the earlier date.

236. We have now come to a pause in our narrative. Had it been our purpose to write, in the strictest sense, the literary history of the first or apostolic century, we should already, according to the judgment of many of our learned contemporaries, have brought in much which does not belong here, and in the opinion of others, too little. But in no case would it be admissible to carry this history farther down, so as to enumerate and pass judgment upon those writings of the second century, extant or lost, which, whether rightly or wrongly, bear the names of men of that later time. Only this must be noted, that from the next fifty years so extraordinarily little of this kind has been preserved that from this fact alone may be anticipated the difficulties which embarrass the investigation of the facts still to be brought forward.

For a history of the New Testament (commonly so-called) there is lacking still the Second Epistle of Peter and some sections in our Gospels; and mention of Clement and Barnabas was superfluous for that purpose. The limits of a literary history of the first Christian century depend, so far as the material is concerned, upon the verdict of criticism respecting the separate books. We have not been far from the greatest possible richness, while the Tübingen school goes back to a minimum, placing only five of the extant writings with full confidence in the period before the destruction of Jerusalem, and many of them far down in the second century.

According to our conception, with the death of the generation which had seen this destruction, the battle between Paulinism and Judaism had, for the greater part of the Church, been decided, and in such a way that the eschatology and the tendency to asceticism and hierarchy had passed over from the latter into the whole body, while rituals, circumcision, etc., had given place to the gospel doctrine of redemption through the sacrifice of Christ (§ 231). From that time on, after a short pause, the antithesis between Catholicism and heresy began to be developed, which before the middle of the second century clearly entered into the consciousness of theology. Heresy, *i. e.*, theological error, existed before, but not in contrast with a theology which had already overcome the difference between the Jewish and Christian fundamental principles.

The few literary remains of this period, whether genuine or spurious, so far as they make no claim to be reckoned with the sacred literature of the New Testament (Ignatius, Polycarp, Fragments of Papias, Hegesippus, Aristo, Quadratus, Aristides), do not belong in our history. See M. J. Routh, *Reliquiæ sacræ*, Ed. 2, Oxf. 1846 ff., 5 vols.

237. For in so far as we have undertaken to write the history of the sacred writings of the New Testament we have certainly not yet come to the end of our account. Even the period at whose threshold we are now standing was not without influence upon the destiny of the apostolic writings, and moreover brought to maturity conditions of affairs whose effect upon the literature is too closely connected with matters already considered, or to be touched upon later, to be passed over. On the one hand alterations of all sorts have been undertaken with the extant books, which belong here all the more since they can even now be pointed out, and on the other hand there were later books written under the names of apostolic men which we cannot leave unmentioned, since the separation between the genuine and the spurious was accomplished only gradually and not without hesitation in the Church.

The justification of this widening of our field is found on the one hand in our definition, § 1, and on the other in our strictly historical method, which must always so far as possible make allowance for the chronological sequence ; further, in the history of the canon ; and finally, to mention but an example, in the one circumstance that the Second Epistle of Peter has not found its place in the foregoing period, and cannot appear in the next isolated and unrelated.

238. After the close of the generation which had seen the Christian Church come into being, and which had produced the beginnings of Christian literature, it was natural that this literature should exhibit in its growth more and more numerous forms and tendencies. But it is the further development of the historical literature which first claims our attention. Its aim was for the most part enrichment, and inasmuch as it was based upon tradition, even the chronological order of occurrence could not of itself alone furnish any absolute ground of distinction between different events. We have already seen how the composition of historical treatises fell from the beginning upon the pupils of the Apostles, and that they could not at once have obtained a fixed and unalterable form. Even beyond the limits of the first century they might still suffer all sorts of alterations and additions at the hands of their possessors, who drew from the same tradition. Particular striking examples, which can be conclusively proved, although few in number, place the matter beyond doubt.

On the lasting vitality of oral tradition cf. also § 242, the declaration of Papias, § 175, and the circumstance that down to the time of Justin no quotations from written Gospels meet us (§ 173).

239. Two such additions are found in the Fourth Gospel. The older one, very early bound up with the book, forms an appendix to it, added very probably by a younger pupil of the Apostle, who wished thereby to bear witness to the apostolic origin of the thus enriched work. This addition has for its object not so much to preserve from oblivion a single scene from the life of Jesus as to explain and correct a common misconception as to the death of the disciple and further to restore, by a solemn declaration of the Lord, the rank of Peter, compromised by his denial. Another and much later addition is the narrative of Jesus' decision respecting the adulterous woman, which now stands in the eighth chapter of the same Gospel, but which has not been able to preserve a definite position in all the copies.

Appendix, ch. xxi. The high antiquity of this passage is clear from the total silence of the manuscripts, ancient versions, and Church Fathers respecting a doubt which has at the present day become very strong. For ourselves its force depends chiefly upon the sufficiently warranted arrangement of the whole Gospel of John given by us in § 214 ff., which is moreover externally rounded off and brought to a close in xx. 31 (especially by βιβλίῳ τούτῳ). It is not enough merely to cut away xxi. 24, 25, since the ταῦτα in this passage refers not to ch. xxi. but to the whole book, and the other ταῦτα in vs. 1 passes over the immediately preceding; moreover xxi. 23 forms no close. Others have urged to the same purpose the conception of the Parousia in vs. 22 (cf. on the other hand xiv. 18 ff.), the designation of the beloved disciple, vs. 20, which, however, is also found in xiii. 23, and the evidences of a special purpose. Let it be noted in passing that vs. 14 directly contradicts Lk. xxiv. and the whole vs. 49 of that chapter, while agreeing with Mt. xxviii. 16.

The spuriousness has been maintained, after Grotius, Le Clerc, and Pfaff, by Paulus, in the *N. Repert.*, II. 327, and in the *Memorab.*, V. 176; Bertholdt, De Wette, Credner, Schott, in their Introductions; the last especially, *De origine et indole cap. ult. evang. Joan.*, Jena, 1825. Also J. Gurlitt, *Explic. c. 21 Joan.*, Hamb. 1805; Lücke, in his Commentary, and many others. See Hoekstra, in the *Leidner theol. Zeitschr.*, 1867, p. 407 ff.

The genuineness is defended by nearly all the ancient writers, and among moderns by Michaelis, Eichhorn, Wegscheider, Hug, Guericke, Kühnöl, Tholuck, etc.; in special writings: J. G. F. Papst, *De authentic. c. 21*, Erl. 1779; J. F. Krause, *Vindiciæ cap. ult.*, Reg. 1793; Velthusen, in his *Syllloge*, IV. 142; J. C. L. Handschke, *De authentic.*, etc., L. 1818; *Königsberger Osterprogramm*, 1822; M. Weber, *Authentic. cap. ult. . . vindic.*, Hal. 1823; J. Simon, *Cap. ult. . . vindic.*, Arg. 1831; J. H. Redding, *De authentic.*, etc., Gron. 1833; P. Doumeq, *Intégrité de l'év. de Jean*, Mont. 1836; H. L. Scheffer, *Examen du 21e ch.*, Str. 1839. Cf. in general, C. Wieseler, *Indagatur num loci Marc. 16, 9 sqq. et Jo. 21 genuini sint*, Gött. 1839; F. Vermeil, *Étude sur le 21e ch. de Jean*, Str. 1861. [For a full discussion, see Godet, *Comm.*, II.; Meyer, *in loc.*]

Ch. vii. 53-viii. 11 is wanting in more than fifty of our manuscripts, among them many of the oldest (especially Sin., Alex., Vat., Ephr., Sangall.), in

most of the oriental versions and Greek Church Fathers. Many codices have asterisks, oboli, or other marks of suspicion against it, some place the pericope at the end of the Gospel, others after vii. 36 or Lk. xxi. Lachmann and Tischendorf reject it, Griesbach, Vater, Schulz, and others bracket it. For further details see the critical editions. The authenticity of the narrative is not to be doubted; the apparent repulsiveness of the contents would scarcely have led to its omission. Moreover the style is different from that of John. The manuscript text is very uncertain (perhaps translated from the Latin, at least in a recension?) Special essays by J. P. F. Dettmers, *Vindiciæ αἰθεντίας*, etc., Frankf. a. O. 1793; C. F. Stäudlin, *Pericopæ . . . authentica defenditur*, Gött. 1806; S. A. Buddingh, *Cap. 8 evang. Joan.*, Leyd. 1833; E. T. Beck, *Sur l'authenticité de Jean 8*, etc., Str. 1839; Schulthess, in Winer's *Journal*, V. 257; Dieck, in the *Heidelb. Studien*, 1832, IV.; Oesterlen, in the *Württemb. Studien*, 1839, II.; 1840, I.; Hitzig, *Joh. Marcus*, p. 205 ff.; Matthæi, *N. T. ed. major*, IV. 359; Doumécq, see above. [Meyer, *in loc.*]

For the spuriousness of the words, v. 3, 4: ἐδεχομένων . . . νοσήματι, there is much less evidence. They appear also to be presupposed by the narrative in vs. 7; moreover it is easy to explain their omission. Yet Griesbach and others have bracketed the passage, Tischendorf, Meyer, Muralt, Tregelles, have rejected it. L. A. Dieffenbach, in Bertholdt's *Journal*, V. 1, discovers several other lesser interpolations in the same Gospel.

240. The additions which give to the Gospel according to Mark its present rounded beginning and end must certainly be of later date. This was not the first attempt made to give to this book, which seemed to break off altogether too abruptly, a more becoming form. An older and much shorter close is still found in the manuscripts. The later, longer one is compiled from the accounts of Luke and John; but it has also appropriated less authentic elements, belonging to a later legend, and joins them not very skillfully to the genuine text. The addition at the beginning of the same Gospel, which betrays the same purpose of chronological completeness, and is drawn in a similar way from the previously existing accounts, may be considerably older than that at the end, since external traces of its later addition are no longer to be discovered.

That the Gospel of Mark (§ 189) closed with xvi. 8, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, and that consequently vss. 9–20 are a later addition, is clear from the following considerations: vs. 9 ff. is wanting in Cod. B. and Sin., and in Armenian and Arabic manuscripts; several later codices still have after vs. 8 the remark: τέλος· ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις ἕως ὧδε πληροῦται ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φέρεται· Ἀναστὰς κ. τ. λ., or similar formulas. A scholium (Codd. 23, 34, 39, 41) terms the shorter recension the ἀκριβεστέραν. In the time of Eusebius the addition was wanting σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις, and is not supplied in all the codices with the Eusebian Canons (§ 385.) Jerome, *Ad Hedib.*: *in raris fertur evangelii, omnibus græcis libris pæne hoc cap. non habentibus* (*Opp.*, III. 96); so several other ancient writers; yet Irenæus knows it. For other patristic testimonies see the works of the modern critics.

Instead of the received text Cod. L reads: πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμος ἐξήγγειλαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. So also Cod. Bobbiensis of the Old Latin version.

Vs. 9 ff. is from John, vs. 12 from Luke, and ἐν ἐτέρα μορφή is evidently the exegetical resumé of his narrative; in vs. 14 a glimpse of the history of Thomas appears, in vss. 17 and 18 the narratives in Acts ii. and xxviii. 3, as well as the legend of the poisoned cup of John. Moreover the account of these events has no connection with the prediction in vs. 7; and vs. 8 contradicts vs. 10.

Griesbach brackets the addition, Tischendorf strikes it out; see in general Hottinger, *Centur.*, p. 151; R. Simon, *Hist. du texte*, ch. xi.; J. A. Osiander, *Postrema commata Marci genuina*, Tüb. 1753; Storr, *Opp.*, III. 50; Hezel, in the *Schriftforscher*, II. 364; Schulthess, in the *Analekten*, III. 3; Schott, *Opp.*, II. 131; Himly, *De Jesu ascensu* (Arg. 1811), p. 14 ff.; Hitzig, *Joh. Marcus*, p. 191 ff.; Credner, I. 106; Fritzsche in his Commentary; Wieseler (§ 239); Lachmann, in the *Heidelb. Studien*, 1830, p. 843. [Meyer, *in loc.*; Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*, Oxf. 1871.]

That i. 1-20 (1-15?) is only a compilation from Matthew and Luke, or at least a brief redaction in accordance with them of the beginning of the gospel history, has been seen and shown by all who have called Mark a compiler at all (§ 189). The question presents itself whether the whole book really has the same character as this introduction; and in so far as one is justified in denying this, it follows that the latter betrays the hand of a supplementer. Lachmann, in the *Heidelb. Studien*, 1830, rejects only the quotations.

241. Other additions of less importance have been preserved in some manuscripts, some of which have found their way into our editions. They arose partly through the introduction of single anecdotes or sentences, partly and particularly after people began to use the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke by preference, inasmuch as their great similarity led their readers or possessors to supplement one from another. Yet this tendency belongs rather to a later time, and it will therefore be more fitting to return to it under the history of the text. Similar small amplifications occur in the Acts of the Apostles beside the just mentioned part of our account. Yet many additions of this kind may have been made in early times of which no knowledge has come down to us, since after these books had gained public recognition such arbitrary dealing with them must have ceased.

The best known examples of the addition of whole portions of discourses or anecdotes are in Lk. vi. 5, in Cod. D. in both languages, Mt. xx. 28, in the same manuscript, and in many of the oldest Latin Codices. Cf. J. A. Osiander, *De insigni additamento Cod. Cantabr.*, etc., Tüb. 1755.

In the Acts, beside many additions only preserved in Latin (or perhaps originally written in Latin), there are also some in Greek: *e. g.*, xiv. 2, 6; xvi. 38; xviii. 26; xxiii. 25, especially in Codd. D, E, and their translations, in the margin of the Philoxenian Version, etc.

For examples of conformation and other less enrichment of the Synoptists see Mt. xx. 22, 23, xxvii. 35, Mk. vi. 11, Lk. ix. 56, xi. 2, xvii. 36, in the printed editions; and many in the manuscripts. Cf. § 358.

What H. Rettig (*Ephem. Giss.*, III. 36) says in his essay, *De quibusdam evv. locis ab initio cum iis non conjunctis sed additis*, is based entirely upon subjective historico-dogmatic conjectural criticism.

242. But the gradual dissemination of these historical wri-

tings did not prevent the preservation and active propagation of oral tradition. Pious stories, embellished, in accordance with the taste of the time and of the multitude, with miracles painted in more and more glaring colors, were demanded for the satisfaction of the religious wants of the people, and the narratives furnished by the older books were soon no longer sufficient to gratify this perverted taste. While these books were becoming established in the Church legend had had time to become fixed there also, and was able thenceforth to maintain equal rank with them. But tradition fixed its attention especially upon those portions of the sacred history on which the older narratives appeared incomplete or were entirely silent, and gradually drew within its field all the persons belonging to the family of Jesus or mentioned in the former histories, embellishing their lives and surrounding their figures with a sacred radiance which shone the more brightly as it rose from a darker background.

How little the propagation of oral tradition in the Church was ever quiet, may be seen in particular from the fact that many of the most widely-spread ideas respecting the gospel history have no other source; *e. g.*, the birth of Jesus in a cave, which is distinctly attested by the apocryphal Gospels and only apparently excluded by the canonical; the three kings instead of the indefinite number of Magi; Anna the prophetess as the mother of Mary; Magdalene as a penitent; the age of Joseph; the form of the cross; not to speak of many things whose conventional form owes its existence to a freak of artistic fancy.

An accurate comparison of the extant apocryphal Gospels with one another and with the few parallel passages in the canonical, as well as of the endlessly varying recensions of the former, shows how living was the inner thought, how little the significance of the exact words. Cf. in general R. Hoffmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apocryphen*, L. 1851.

243. But legend did not always develop in such naïve and poetical simplicity that the desire for its creations can have been the sole ground of its origin; nor even an unconscious desire for a more definite form of the history, whose details had often vanished, whose outlines were uncertain, or which otherwise did not furnish to the imagination sufficient occupation, and consequently provoked it to freer play. Much more frequently there was interwoven with it a certain party interest, which may be recognized by the preference and exaltation of certain names at the expense of others, by a stricter separation of those once more closely connected, or a closer connection of those once farther separated, by the carrying back into former times of later facts, by the prominence of certain places and their ecclesiastical importance, by the extension of the formerly more confined apostolic activity, and in general by the subordination of the events, whether embellished, fabricated, or only transformed, to a ruling idea, and to the purpose intended to be subserved.

Every mighty lever of human activity divides individuals and separates the masses in its train. Religion is no exception, especially when it becomes theology, where differences in mental endowment are added to the ferment produced by other causes. The historical interest of a religious literature lies in no small part in this fact, all the more as the religious element diminishes, as is the case with the apocryphal literature.

Cf. in general on the apocryphal literature of the N. T. : the well-known Histories of Ecclesiastical Literature by Cave and Oudin; also J. A. Schmid, *Pseudo-V. T.*, Helmst. 1707; *Pseudo-N. T.*, Helmst. 1699; T. Ittig, *Hist. Sec. I.*, p. 1 ff.; idem, *De PP. Apost.*, p. 12 ff.; R. Simon, *Hist. du texte*, chs. 3, 7, 8; his *Nouv. remarques*, ch. 1; Mill, *Proleg.*, *passim*; J. Lami, *De erudit. apost.*, p. 176 ff.; A. v. Dale, *De orig. idolol.*, p. 253 ff.; Pritius, *Introd.*, p. 6, 58, ed. Hofm.; I. de Beausobre, *De N. T. ll. apocr.*, Berl. 1734, German translation in Cramer's *Beiträge*, I. 251 ff.; Hagemann, *Hist. Nachricht. v. N. T.*, p. 646 ff.; J. F. Cotta, *Kirchengesch.*, II. 1107 ff.; H. Corrodi, *Beleuchtung der Gesch. des Kanons*, *passim*; J. A. Stark, *Gesch. des ersten Jahrh.*, Pt. II.; J. F. Kleuker, *Ueber die Apokryphen des N. T.*, Hamb. 1798; J. E. C. Schmidt, *Einkl. ins N. T.*, p. 234 ff.; Thilo, *Proleg. ad Acta Thomæ*; J. Pons, *Les apocryphes du N. T.*, Mont. 1850; A. Dillmann and R. Hofmann, *Art. Pseudepigraphen*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

Collections : *Narrationes apocr. de Christo et rebus chr.*, in the appendix of *Catechesis Lutheri græco-lat.*, ed. M. Neander, Bas. 1567; *Codex pseudepigr. V. T. collectus*, etc., by J. A. Fabricius, Ed. 2, Hamb. 1722, 2 vols.; idem, *Codex apocr. N. T.*, Hamb. 1703-43, 2 vols.; cf. also his *Bibl. græc.*, III. 168; XIV. 270; *Spicilegium Patrum et hæreticorum Sæc. I., II., III.*, by J. E. Grabe, Oxf. 1698 ff., 2 vols.; A. Birch, *Auctarium cod. apocr. Fabriciani*, Pt. I., Hamb. 1804; *Corpus apocryphorum extra biblia*, ed. C. C. L. Schmid, Had. 1804, Pt. I.; *Codex apocr. N. T.*, by J. C. Thilo, Vol. I. L. 1832 (only Gospels). A new collection has been begun by Const. Tischendorf, of which there have appeared thus far *Acta app. apocrypha*, L. 1851; *Evangelia*, 1853; *Apocalypses*, 1866.

We pass over the numerous translations into modern languages. Yet we may mention here, on account of its copiousness, which, however, is almost its only merit, the *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* of Abbé Migne, Paris, 1856, 2 vols. 4°.

244. Finally, more mighty and dangerous still in this direction was the effect of the contact of Christianity with Jewish and heathen speculation. The history came thereby altogether unprotected into the power of the idea, which used it arbitrarily to serve its own purposes. More than one philosopher of that period who, having attached himself externally to the Church, but not having taken his stand upon its historic basis, had become the head of a sect, doubtless thought he could support and commend his doctrine by an appropriate adaptation of the history of Jesus. Now inasmuch as it was generally treated not so much as a matter of historical knowledge as of religious faith, and in proportion as the latter is more pliable and changeable than the former, the history must have lost in fixedness, and even its essential part must have been eaten away by the after-growth in which it was enveloped.

On this and the following sections cf. also §§ 292, 508. — B. Germon, *De vett. hæreticis eccles. codicum corruptoribus*, P. 1713.

245. It is highly probable that this was the origin of those books which the ancients call the Gospels of Cerinthus, Carpocrates, Basilides, Apelles, and still other speculators of that syncretic metaphysics which is generally known under the name of Gnosticism. These writings may have arisen in different ways, by selection from the extant material, as well as by addition of new, in varying degrees of mixture. Our knowledge respecting them is scanty, in part untrustworthy, and seldom definite enough for the purposes of science. The degree of similarity of these Gnostic Gospels to our canonical books can in no case be ascertained with certainty, yet it may probably be asserted that in the first half of the second century there had as yet been no wholly free and fanciful fabrication of the history.

Cerinthus appears to belong to the end of the first century; he is not accused of interpolation, but of mutilation (Epiph., *Hær.*, xxviii. 5, *χρῶνται τῇ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίᾳ ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ οὐχ ὅλῃ*, yet he had the genealogy). The same writer, xxx. 14, ascribes to him the use of the Ebionitic Gospel, by which he may possibly mean the same thing. Irenæus, iii. 11, appears merely to say that his school found Mark suitable for their purposes. Cf. H. E. G. Paulus, *Historia Cerinthi*, Jena, 1795; Schmidt, in his *Bibl.*, I. 181; Jablonski, *De regno millenario Cerinthi* (*Opp.*, Vol. III.), and § 313. [Mosheim, I. 250, Murdock's trans.; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, I. 236.]

The same passages in Epiphanius speak also of Carpocrates, who probably, like most of the following, belongs to the middle of the second century. Jerome, *Adv. Lucif.*, *Opp.*, II. 100 Trib.: *ad eos venio hæreticos qui evangelia laniaverunt, Saturninum quendam et Ophitas . . . et Carpocratem et Cerinthum et hujus successorem Hebionem (!) quorum plurimi vivente adhuc Joanne ap. eruperunt.*

On Basilides, see Origen on Luke, *Opp.*, III. 933: *ausus fuit Basilides scribere evang. et suo nomine titolare*; cf. Jerome, *Proem. in Matth.* According to other accounts (Euseb. iv. 7) one might infer an exegetico-philosophical writing upon an older Gospel (or rather, perhaps, on the Gospel in the abstract), in which he had brought forward his *τερατάδεις μυθοποιίας*; e. g., as Iren. i. 24, Tertull., *Præscr.*, 46, Epiph. xxiv. 3, and Theodoret, *Hær. fab.*, i. 4. The quotations in Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, I. 340, III. 426 agree with canonical texts. A free treatment (of the Epistles) seems to be indicated by the fragments in Hippol., *Adv. hæres.*, upon which see Jacobi, *Basilides Sententiæ*, etc., B. 1852 (cf. § 292). The Gospel of Basilides and the Traditions of Matthias (§ 262) are identified by Gundert, in the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theol.*, 1856, I.

Valentinus († 160) is said to have had another Gospel beside the canonical ones (*suum præter hæc nostra*, Pseudo-Tertull., *Præscr.*, 49), by which is doubtless meant that which his adherents called the *Evangelium veritatis* (Iren., iii. 11: *in nihilo conveniens apostolorum evangelii*). But neither what Tertullian says of him, *Præscr.*, 38 (§ 508), nor the expression used in the *Epistola ad Floram* of his pupil Ptolemæus (Epiph., *Hær.*, xxxiii.), nor yet the quotations in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* in the works of Clem. Alex., lead us outside the range of the canonical Gospels. The probably Valentinian work *πίστις σοφία*, which, preserved in the language of Upper Egypt, is now in the British Museum (Woide, in Cramer's *Beiträge*, III. 84; Dulaurier, in the *Journal As.*, IV. 9, p. 534, since printed, ed. Schwartz and Petermann, B. 1851), appears also to agree for the most part in its not infrequent

gospel quotations with Matthew. Cf. also Buddeus, *Philos. hebr.*, p. 409 ff.; G. Hooper, in the *Mus. Hag.*, II.

Of Apelles Origen says, *Opp.*, IV. 52: *evangelia purgavit*. Epiph., *Hær.*, xliv. 4, thus apostrophizes him: *εὶ δὲ βούλει λαμβάνεις ἀπὸ τῆς θελας γραφῆς καὶ ἂ βούλει καταλιμπάνεις, ἅρα γοῶν κριτῆς ἐκάθισας κ. τ. λ.*

Several Church Fathers (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, III. 445, 452, 465; Orig., *Opp.*, III. 933; Epiph., *Hær.*, lxii. 2, etc.) speak of a Gospel of the Egyptians, which according to the quotations from it (also in Clem. Rom., Ep. II., without name) must have been theosophico-ascetic in its contents, and is said to have been used by Docetæ, Encratites, and Sabellians. M. Schneckenburger, *Das Evang. der Ægypter*, Bern, 1834; Hilgenfeld, *N. T. extra canonem receptum*, IV. p. 43.

The small portions which have been preserved of the text of all these Gospels render it impossible at the present day to venture an opinion, or at least to establish it, respecting their relationship, conjectured by many, with the Hebrew or Petrine Gospel. For the fragments and testimonies, see Fabricius, I. 339 ff.; Grabe, I. 31 ff.; II. 35 ff. For the literature cf. also § 199, and in general §§ 292, 508.

The very recent corruption of the Gospel of John of which the so-called New Templars (*Chrétien primitifs*) at Paris made use, of which there was much talk about 1830, may here be passed over. F. Münter, *Notitia cod. græc. evang. Joan. variatum continentis*, Hafn. 1828; Ullmann, in the *Studien*, 1828, IV.; Thilo, *Cod. ap.*, I. 817; French translation in the so-called *Leviticon*, or book of worship, 1831.

246. The most famous work of this kind is the Gospel of Marcion of Sinope, a Gnostic of the middle of the second century, whom the ancient writers and many moderns accuse of a corruption of the Gospel of Luke, undertaken for the same purpose, while others in recent times have, so to speak, reversed the relation. The truth of the matter is probably simply this, that this heretic, a sworn enemy of Judaism, rejecting all the Gospels then known, prepared one for himself, for which he drew his material by preference from that of Luke as the least Judaistic. A similar charge was made against him with reference to the Epistles of Paul, whom alone he recognized as an Apostle. In reality, therefore, his books were emasculated editions of different apostolic writings, not diplomatic corruptions; the crime which is charged upon Marcion was altogether impossible at a time when there were only nameless gospels and no canon.

On Marcion (flourished 140–170) cf. also §§ 291, 362. — Iren. i. 27; Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, v.; Epiph., *Hær.*, xlii.; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.*, i. 24. The Church Fathers not only charge him in general with intentional corruption, and with great animosity, because, as they declared, it was done on purely dogmatic grounds (Tert., *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 6: *contraria quæque suæ sententiæ erasit . . . competentia reservavit*), but Tertullian and Epiphanius also go through the whole work in detail, in order to point out the mutilation point by point. This judgment has been adopted without reservation by most earlier writers, and by many moderns; indeed, the attempt has been made to restore the work of the heretic according to the representations of this patristic attack (*Das Evang. M. in s. urspr. Gestalt*, by A. Hahn, Kön. 1823, printed in Thilo, *Cod. apocr.*, Vol. I.). Cf. Olshausen, *Echtheit der Evv.*, p. 107 ff.;

R. Simon, Mill, Hug, Guericke, and others. Walch, *Ketzergeschichte*, I. 504; Mosheim, *De rebus Chr.*, 408; Matter, *Gnost.*, II. 238; Neander, *Church History*, II. 534; *Gnost.*, p. 311; Gratz, *Unterss. über Marc. Evang.*, 1818; H. Rhode, *Prolegg. ad quæstionem de evang. M.*, Br. 1834; C. E. Becker, *Examen crit. de l'évang. de M.*, Str. 1837; F. Heim, *Marcion, sa doctrine et son évangile*, Str. 1862. Marcion is said to have called this work the Gospel of Christ, and, though only through a later misunderstanding (*Dialog. de fide*, in *Opp. Origen.*, I. 808), to have maintained that it was written by Jesus himself and completed by Paul. But the circumstance that no apostolic name was assumed as authority for the history led Griesbach (*Opp.*, II. 125; cf. Paulus, *Conservat.*, I. 115 ff.) to a much milder judgment. Semler, (*Vorrede zu Townson*, see § 180, and in other places) first conjectured that Marcion had an older and shorter Gospel before him, and Eichhorn asserted that the canonical Luke was an elaboration of the work used by Marcion. He was followed at a greater or less distance by J. E. C. Schmidt, in Henke's *Mus.*, V. 468, and in his *Bibl.*, II. 365; Corrodi, *Bibelkanon*, II. 172; Bertholdt, Gieseler, and others; see § 362.

Recent criticism has taken up Eichhorn's idea again with positiveness: A. Ritschl, *Das Evang. Marcions u. das Evang. des Lucas*, Tüb. 1846; F. C. Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1846, IV., and in the *Krit. Unterss. über die Evv.*, p. 397 ff. Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeit.*, I. 260 ff., does not positively assert the dependence of our Luke upon the Gospel of Marcion. This theory has been opposed especially by G. Volkmar, in the *Jahrb.*, 1850, I., II.; idem, *Das Evang. M.*, L. 1852; also in a certain sense by Hilgenfeld, in his *Justin* (§ 199), p. 448 f., and especially in the *Jahrb.*, 1853, II.; he only admits that Marcion may have had some better readings than we. Ritschl retracted his view (*Jahrb.*, 1851, IV. 528), and Baur (*Marcus*, in the Appendix, 191 ff.) modified his in essential points. Cf. still D. Harting, *De Marcione lucani evang. ut fertur adulteratore*, Traj. 1849; G. F. Frank, in the *Studien*, 1855, II.

From this whole discussion the following results appear to have been reached up to the present time with full certainty: (1.) Tertullian and Epiphanius are not sufficient for a clear understanding of the actual material constitution of Marcion's Gospel, partly because they are intent not upon a literary-critical purpose, but upon a dogmatic and polemic one, and partly because their accounts are neither complete nor altogether harmonious. (2.) In many of the alterations pointed out by them it is not at all apparent what was to be gained for the system of Marcion thereby. Some of them are readings which might be placed on a level with the received or even preferred to them, e. g. Lk. xi. 2, ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμά σου; viii. 19 is wanting; viii. 21 with the question standing in Mt. xii. 48; x. 22, οὐδέτις ἔγνω, and the two members transposed; xii. 38, ἐσπερινῇ instead of the number; xvii. 2 adds εἰ μὴ ἐγενήθη; xviii. 19, μὴ με λέγε ἀγαθόν εἰς ἔσθιν, etc. (3.) Most of the longer passages, with the rejection of which he is charged, are actually such that they would come into conflict with the basis of his theology: i. 1-4, 15; xiii. 1-9; xv. 11-32; xix. 29-46; xx. 9-18; also some smaller ones: xviii. 31-34; xxii. 28-30; xiii. 28, πάντας δικαίους instead of the prophets and patriarchs; xvi. 17, λόγον θεοῦ (μοῦ) instead of νόμου; xx. 37, 38; xxii. 16; much of xxii. 35-51, etc. (4.) It is not correct to say that after the omission of such passages (though not all) a better connection is produced between what remains. The proof of this has been made plausible in but a few passages, where it is not surprising considering the composition and editing of the Synoptic Gospels. (5.) The theory of a pre-Marcionite original of Luke and a post-Marcionite canonical Gospel stands or falls with the assertion that Mark copied from the latter. (6.) The distinct and agreeing declaration of the ancient writers that the Gospel of Marcion began with Lk. iii. 1, immediately connected with iv. 31, is almost sufficient of itself to

establish the view of an arbitrary adaptation of Luke. (7.) The existence of a shorter original of Luke, though conceivable in itself (§ 203), could scarcely be carried down to the time of Marcion; and if it could, the passionate defense of the canonicity of a Gospel of Luke so altogether late and new would be inconceivable.

But least of all ought those to have taken the field against Marcion who called Mark an epitomizer of Matthew and Luke; for this epitomizer would have done, *mutatis mutandis*, exactly what Marcion is blamed for doing, and deprived the Christians of the advantage of a full reading, rich in doctrine, in order to foist upon them a history certainly cheaper, but also more scanty. In general, if it were true that our synoptists manipulated the gospel tradition according to particular dogmatic points of view, they would all stand upon the same ground as Marcion.

247. Finally, as the writings of the Apostles became more and more a rule of faith, the necessity of commending every doctrine by some sacred name brought into existence a new literature, which was soon richer than that of the first century, and often supplanted it. Catholics and heretics vied with one another in composing, under the assumed name of some apostolic personage, histories, or doctrinal works, whose number even is unknown to us, and whose fate is in most cases as obscure as their origin. This practice, already in favor among the Jews, was the more general from the ease with which the masses could be imposed upon at a time when even the learned were ignorant of literary criticism. Such writings are generally designated by the technical term Pseudepigrapha.

The name is often, but incorrectly, used as synonymous with Apocrypha (§ 318); the latter is much more comprehensive and general.

Analogies are found even in classic literature, but especially in the pre-Christian Jewish (Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Solomon, Enoch), and in the later Christian (false decretals, etc.). It is something wholly different when from ignorance a nameless writing is ascribed to a famous author, as occurs especially in the patristic and classic literature, but also in the Old and New Testaments (Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, passages in the book of Isaiah, Epistle to the Hebrews, etc.). Cf. also the notes under § 260.

A comprehensive work upon the post-apostolic literature of this kind, which should make use of it for church history, the history of doctrines and apologetics, is still wanting. J. L. Mosheim, *De causis suppositorum librorum inter Christianos, sec. I. et II. (Diss., I. 217)*; H. A. Niemeyer, in his *Zeitschr.*, I. 257. — C. I. Nitzsch, *De apocr. ev. in explicandis canonicis usu et abusu*, Vit. 1808; F. J. Arens, *De ev. apocr. usu historico, critico, exegetico*, Gött. 1835; C. Tischendorf, *De ev. apocr. origine et usu*, Hag. 1851. Cf. also Ammon, *Leben Jesu*, I. 91; R. Köstlin, *Die pseudonym. Liter. der ältesten Kirche*, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1851, II.; M. Nicolas, *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes*, Par. 1866; J. J. Taylor, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, in the *Theol. Review*, 1867.

248. Yet all Pseudepigrapha did not arise out of dogmatic interests. Some were productions of pious fraud, with a more innocent design, if you will. In one case it might have been an over-excitement, aping prophetism, in another a childish mania for miracles, that brought them into existence. Yet

these latter have for us and the history less importance than the other class, inasmuch as every embodiment of an idea, but not every play of the fancy, may properly claim the attention of the investigator when he is attempting to follow the development of the mind in time. They always bear witness also, though often only caricatures of sacred things, to the state of religious culture from which they sprang, and serve, like shadows in a picture, to bring out more clearly the light of genuine inspiration.

Taken as a whole, there is in this literature, which sprang almost entirely from the imagination, exceedingly little poetry, and this little is buried beneath a mass of insipidity and absurd exaggeration. The miracle becomes a gross, mechanical trick of jugglery; the idea vanishes or remains as a dead formula without productive power; and apologetics, in so far as it thinks it worth the while to institute a comparison with the genuine models, has slight value. The reasons which underlie this judgment will, therefore, be despatched more briefly in the following; the more important and interesting of them have already been made known.

249. It is quite impossible to arrange in any accurate chronological order all forged writings which have laid claim by their titles to a place in the apostolic literature. Our information respecting them is insufficient for this purpose, much of it contradictory and confused. But in view of the course and plan of our history this point does not greatly concern us. The only practicable principle of an orderly summary is precisely that most conformed to the practice hitherto objected to: the religious or theological tendency must decide the order in which they are to be named. According to this principle they would be distinguished as belonging either to the Catholic Church or to the heretical schools, and among the latter for the most part as either Ebionitic, approaching in general more or less toward Judaism, or Gnostic, favoring the philosophy which was mostly opposed to Judaism.

It is also to be noted that by no means all the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha thus far fully known, from their age or value otherwise, have an equal claim to be mentioned in this history, agreeably to its plan. But partly because criticism has not yet come to full agreement respecting these points, and partly because there is nowhere else to be found a complete summary of this literature, it will be forgiven us if briefly and without waste of space we treat of it somewhat more at length than would perhaps be necessary. Even if it has no longer any significance for us, it was otherwise in antiquity, when it arose. When one thinks that even in the Middle Ages Christian people were fed almost as much with such unwholesome food as with the genuine and nutritious, and that the history of the Christian Bible should give knowledge of all this, it will not appear out of place if we search out the beginnings of error in a time when its influence was scarcely less than that of the truth.

250. This classification, general as it is, nevertheless has its difficulties. The same book, as it passed from hand to hand,

often changed its coloring and character. The religious parties which drew their spiritual nourishment from such writings inherited them one from another and remodeled them according to their special needs. That they could do this is a proof that the older books had already begun to be lifted above the danger of such treatment. The Catholics themselves, while pronouncing their anathemas against the doctrines contained in them, did not hesitate to retain the miserable stories which served to clothe the false doctrines. In later times the field was left tolerably clear for them to increase the number still farther, and they actually did produce a flood of legends as insipid as false.

Pseudo-Mellitus, *De passione S. Joannis Evang.*, p. 604, Fabric.: *Volo sollicitam esse fraternitatem vestram de Leucio quodam* (see below, § 261) *qui scripsit App. acta . . . quædam de virtutibus quidem, quæ per eos dominus fecit, vera dixit, de doctrina vero multa mentitus est.* In the same way speaks Pseudo-Melito, *De transitu Mariæ*, in Thilo, *Acta Thomæ*, p. 17; Turrilius Astur. (5th cent.) *Ep. contra Priscill.*: *ut mirabilia illa et virtutes quæ in apocryphis scripta sunt SS. apostolorum vel esse vel potuisse esse non dubium est, ita disputationes assertionesque illas sensuum malignorum ab hæreticis constat esse insertas*, and many others. Pseudo-Athanasius, in the *Synops. S. S.* (§ 317), declares this useful residuum to be inspired.

In the composition of historical Pseudepigrapha, the vitiated taste of the time was baited with fanciful and absurd stories of miracles, while the real purpose was accomplished by the discourses and prophecies interwoven. The interest of the various writings of this kind for us is measured by the degree of reasonableness of the second element. But it is precisely this element which in the Catholic adaptations was more or less skillfully removed, so that in books which among the ancients were decried as heretical there is now no trace of heresy to be discovered; while the legendary material, which had often come from the same source, has been preserved in the Church and among the people.

251. The pseudepigraphic literature of the Christians, with which we have to do here, presents a great variety also in its forms, in the choice of which it does not at all confine itself to the models left behind by the first teachers of the Church. The most prominent style with them, the epistolary, is almost wholly wanting, presenting but few and insignificant examples. Equally noteworthy is the fact that proper Gospels, accounts of Jesus' teachings and deeds, so far at least as we yet know, were not lightly fabricated, doubtless not so much from respect for sacred things as from the felt impossibility of attaining to the elevation of the model delineated long before. Only the portions of the history left fragmentary and obscure in the older books, at its beginning and end, furnished a welcome field for the play of the imagination. On the other hand, beside several new kinds, Apocalypses were especially numerous, showing the disinclination of many for clear, practical, and edifying instruction; more frequent still, and most important

of all among the extant remains, Acts, or Memorabilia of traveling apostles.

Since the greater part of the writings of the second and third centuries belonging under this head are lost, and many are still scarcely known, even by name, the opinion just expressed is of course only hypothetical, and formed mostly in accordance with the extant remains. It is conceivable, for example, that pseudepigraphic gospels (beside those of the Childhood), because of the absolute and normative authority of the canonical books, may have been in existence among heretics but were exterminated by the Catholics; while Gospels of the Childhood or Acts, because, or in so far as they seemed to fill up the gaps in the canonical writings, may have been tolerated.

C. Ullmann, *Zur Charakteristik des kanonischen und apocryphischen*, etc.; see § 319.

252. The history has shown how the Christian literature properly proceeded from the party of activity and progress, from the Hellenists, especially of the Pauline school. The Jewish Christians did not follow until later, and took a less extensive part. After the departure of the apostolic generation, as the spiritual energy of the Pauline ideas grew weaker and gradually became extinct, the outstripped Jewish-Christian element again became more prominent, at first hindering the growth of the other, afterward subordinating it to itself and making it serve its own purposes, or seeking to adjust it to itself, but in part also malignantly standing out against it, and holding fast to its own peculiarities with or without controversy. The remains of the literature of the next century bear witness to a noteworthy religious and ecclesiastical development of all these different shades, and to the most interesting of them is due a place in our history.

The history of Jewish Christianity and its literature, which at present rests in great part upon critical theories, can only be brought into a state of greater certainty when the points of dispute between the traditional conception of the apostolic writings and that maintained by Baur and his pupils have been fought out on all sides and brought to more definite conclusions. On the chronological presuppositions followed in this book the position of the parties is conceived in a way only partially different from that of the critics named, though more simply; but many writings are withdrawn from the history of the second century and ascribed to that of the first.

253. There first meets us a series of writings which, whether internally or externally considered, are closely related to one another, and form a chain reaching from the threshold of the second century far down into the third, whose connection is easily seen. These are the Acts of Peter, or the writings which were designed to present the doctrines of Christianity more or less systematically in the form of a Sermon of Peter. But not only was this simple plan itself altered in various ways, not only did the titles of the separate books change, but to a still

greater extent was this the case with their spirit, and the particular purpose which each had in view. Especially important, with respect to the latter point, is the position which the Apostle named is made to take with reference to Paul, inasmuch as the two are represented now as friendly and in accord, so much so that Peter even appears as a Paulinist, and again the sharpest contradiction exists between them, though concealed. The historical dress, as the scene was changed, made use of or created a mass of legends and fables which the later ecclesiastical tradition has appropriated; but it everywhere betrays to the skilled investigator the design which produced it.

The first writing to be considered here is known under the name of the *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*. Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 3, mentions, beside the Gospel of Peter, also the *πράξεις*, *ἀποκάλυψις*, and *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*. In connection with the latter book, often quoted especially by Clem. Alex. (the fragments have been collected by Grabe, *Spic.*, I. 55 ff.; Fabricius, *Cod. ap.*, III. 654; Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 351 ff. and others), there occurs also a *διδασχὴ*, *doctrina* (Orig., *De princ. præf.*, 8), and in the works of Rufinus and Jerome a *Judicium Petri*; the author of the treatise *De bapt. hæret.* (*Opp. Cypriani*, ed. Rig. p. 139) quotes a *Prædicatio Pauli*; Lactantius, *Divin. instit.*, iv. 21, a *Predicatio Petri et Pauli*. Modern investigations make it probable (Credner, *l. c.*; Schliemann, *Clement.*, p. 254; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, II. 30; Hilgenfeld, *Recogn.*, p. 24), in spite of the difference in the apostolic names, that all these titles belong to one and the same work, or at least only to closely related recensions of the same, which, although it does not reach back into the first century (Grabe, Mill, Bertholdt, and others), yet does into the beginning of the second, since Heracleon (Orig., *Opp.*, IV. 226) uses it, and, at least in one of its divisions, represents the two Apostles as preaching in Rome in company, and therefore as in accord, while perhaps another division (originally a separate work?) may have presented Peter alone. Should this view be established the book would have to be regarded, if not as Pauline, yet as unificatory. The fragments are inconsiderable; that its gospel quotations point to a Jewish-Christian tradition decides nothing. The case is different with the *Judicium* only provided, as Hilgenfeld assumes (*N. T. extra canonem rec.*, IV. 93 ff.), it is identical with a short and very old collection of proverbs put into the mouths of the Apostles (*αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἀγ. ἀποστόλων*), which was also called *Dux viæ*, and has a certain relationship with the last chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas.

Of the Apocalypse of Peter, which occurs not only in Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 3, 25, but also in Clement (according to Euseb., vi. 14), and frequently in the *Excerpt. ex Theodoto*, in the works of Clement, also in the Muratorian Canon (§ 310), cf. Grabe, I. 74, Fabricius, I. 940, nothing more particular can be said from lack of definite knowledge. — For details respecting all these Petrine writings see Hilgenfeld, in the work just cited.

See, in general, E. T. Mayerhoff, *Ueber die in den ersten Jahrh. erwähnten Schr. Petri*, in his work already cited, on the First Ep. of Peter, p. 234 ff. The Petrine legends have been maintained by the hierarchical interest, which later joined itself to them, with a tenacity almost invincible to criticism; it is to be acknowledged, however, that they are older than that interest, though not on that account more genuine. We pass over the older literature on the episcopate of Peter at Rome. See Baur, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1831, IV., and Lipsius, in the work cited under § 55. Cf. also especially H. Scharbau, *Harmonia factorum Petri et Pauli*, *Obss.*, I. 86.

254. By far the most important series of the Acts of Peter, of which we have preserved not only a knowledge but in part the work itself, may, for the sake of distinguishing it from all others, be comprehended under the name of the Pseudo-Clementines. The ancients knew the writings belonging to this series under different names, and it is uncertain whether a different work was designated by each of them. But there are at least three wholly different recensions, or rather remodelings, which have come down to us, all of which, with more or less romantic coloring, lay the scene of the labors of the Apostle in the coast cities of his native land, and make Clement of Rome the relator of the narrative, partly also the hero of the romance. It appears certain that several similar books are lost.

The critical investigations of the Petro-Clementine literature, carried on zealously, especially in recent times, leave little to be desired as respects acuteness and thoroughness, but much as respects absolute certainty of results. A. Schliemann, *Die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften und der Ebionitismus*, Hamb. 1844, in which, p. 17-48, the immense older literature is cited, together with its chaos of conflicting opinions. Cf. also his essay in the *Kieler Mitarb.*, IV. 4. In connection with these are to be taken the more important works which have appeared since that time: Baur, in the *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1844, III. 536; A. Hilgenfeld, *Die clem. Recognitionen u. Homilien nach ihrem Inhalt und Ursprung*, Jena, 1848, and *Tüb. Jahrb.*, 1850, I.; 1854, IV.; cf. his *Zeitschr.*, 1858, III.; 1868, IV.; 1869, IV. As early as 1847, a special essay by the same author on the *ἱερουργία Πέτρου*. Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. 363 ff., 481 ff.; Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, p. 153 ff.; A. Kayser, in the *Strassb. Revue*, Pt. III. 1851; G. Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clem. Rom.*, Gött. 1854; idem, in Herzog's *Encycl.*; A. Heimpel, *Étude sur les homélies clementines*, Mont. 1861; J. Lehmann, *Die clem. Schriften*, Gött. 1869.

We have here a noteworthy example of how little sufficient in and of themselves are patristic quotations for the correct preservation of a lost writing, since we obtain from the extant text a conception of this literature such as never could have been formed from the scanty notices of the Church Fathers. And so it will doubtless prove with many other Pseudepigrapha.

Origen (*Philoc.*, 22, and elsewhere) mentions the *Περίοδοι Κλήμεντος*, from which it has been rendered probable that they were nearly related to, if not identical with, the *Recognitiones* translated by Rufinus (see below). To the same work are also referred the quotations of Clementine histories (*Περίοδοι Πέτρου*), for the most part rather indefinite, in Epiph., *Hær.*, xxx. 15; Jerome, *Ad Gal. i. 18* and *Adv. Jovin.*, i. 14; *Auctor op. imperf. in Matth.*, *passim*; Gennad., *De vir. ill.*, ch. xvii. — Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 38, mentions *Διάλογοι Πέτρου καὶ Ἀπίωνος* (while there are at present in the *Homilies*, iv. and vi., dialogues held between Clement and Apion). The same work is also mentioned by Photius (*Bibl. cod.*, 112, 113), who also quotes, however, a Clementine writing related to the *Recognitiones* as *πράξεις Πέτρου*; and knows the title *ἀναγνωρισμὸς* beside. The title *τὰ Κλημέντια*, the Clementines, first occurs in the *Chron. pasch.* (4th cent.), I. 50, but not of the work now so-called, the *Homilies*. No one expressly designates these, in spite of their high antiquity, before Pseudo-Athan., *Syn. S. S.*, and Nicephorus, *Chronogr.* (§§ 320, 328), unless we are to refer to them general expressions concerning heretical Acts of Peter. — In the *Decret. Gelasii* (§ 324), the *Itinerarium Clementis*

libri X. is mentioned, though with variations in the number; in still later times and in manuscripts the *Recognitions* of Rufinus (whose Greek title Rufinus himself writes now *ἀναγνώσεις* and now *ἀναγνωρισμός*) are called *Itinerarium Petri, Gesta Clementis, Historia Clementis*.—The question now presents itself whether for these different names more writings than those extant are to be assumed. It is possible for some, probable for the *Dialogues* of Apion, perhaps also for those *Κλημέντια* which Nicephorus Callisti, *H. E.*, iii. 18, quotes as an entirely orthodox work, and of which possibly earlier writers have preserved fragments (Schliemann, 338).

There have been printed (1.) *Recognitiones S. Clementis*, in ten books, according to the translation of Rufinus, a presbyter at Aquileia in the beginning of the fifth century, — first in 1526 and often since; also in all the editions of Coutelier, *PP. app.*, the last edited by E. G. Gersdorf, L. 1838, 8°. Rufinus himself knew two recensions of this work, for even now the manuscripts are different, and in particular the section iii. 1–11 is not found in its oldest form.

(2.) *Κλήμεντος τῶν Πέτρου ἐπιδημίων κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή*, or the so-called *Clementine Homilies*, also called simply the Clementines, in twenty *ὁμιλῖαι* or didactic discourses, of which, however, the last was altogether, and the next to the last in part, lacking in the Paris Codex, formerly the only one known. First edited from this manuscript by Coutelier, *l. c.*, 1672, repeated in the later editions of his *Patres*, 1698, 1724, also in Gallandi's collection; last by A. Schwegler, Stuttg. 1847, 8°. Now, complete, from a Vatican manuscript, by A. R. M. Dressel, Gött. 1853, 8°. Critical remarks on the text by F. Wieseler, in Dressel's edition of the *Epitome*.—The Syriac translation, edited by P. A. de Lagarde (L. 1861) contains only the first books of Rufinus' *Recognitions* to the beginning of the fourth, and fragments of the *Homilies* (Hom. x.–xiv.).

(3.) Under the same title, the so-called *Epitome*, edited Par. 1555, then by Coutelier, *l. c.*, an orthodox adaptation of the history, properly a mere extract from the Clementines (Hom. i.–xvi.), with everything heretical omitted, historical additions at the end from the tenth book of the *Recognitions*, and a *Martyrium Clem.* Beside this, Dressel also edited another work, doubtless older, more akin to the *Homilies* (*Clementinorum epitomæ duæ*, etc., L. 1859). No further notice will be taken of this work in the following sections.

(4.) An Epistle of Peter to James, to recommend to him the concealment of the missionary sermons sent to him.

(5.) An account of the provisions adopted by James for that purpose, *διαμαρτυρία*.

(6.) An Epistle of Clement to James, giving information of the last injunctions of Peter, of his own consecration as bishop, and of the transmission of the missionary sermons.

The last three fragments are in Greek, and are now placed with the *Homilies*. Rufinus believed he had reason to regard the epistle of Clement which stands before his copy as not a part of the work which he translated (his translation of the epistle has been edited by O. F. Fritzsche, Z. 1873); Photius testifies that there were copies with an epistle of Peter, others with an epistle of Clement, others(?) without an epistle. The question is whether all three fragments belong together and to our *Homilies*, or the two Nos. 4 and 5 to a different recension of these Acts from No. 6; furthermore, in this case, which epistle belongs to the *Homilies*, which to the original of the *Recognitions*, or does one of them belong to a third, older writing now lost; finally whether the *κηρύγματα* mentioned in them may not have purported to be edited not by Clement, but by Peter himself, so that we should have to distinguish an earlier Petrine and a later Clementine branch of this literature? Especially must the fact be taken into consideration

that in *Recogn.*, iii. 75, there is expressly given the table of contents of the ten books of an earlier work, which was worked over in *Recogn.*, i.-iii., and of which traces are also to be found in Bks. iv.-vi., while in Bks. vii.-x., in which no longer Peter, but Clement, is the chief personage, the original writing is wholly different. Upon this hypothesis we should have to assume an old (c. 120) Palestinian (?) *κῆρυγμα Πέτρου* as the first link of the chain, and distinguish it from that mentioned in § 253 (Roman ?).

Also respecting the place of origin of the separate works discussion is not yet closed. The widespread view that the whole literature sprang from Rome (earlier single church historians favored Alexandria) has lately been disputed with respect to the *Homilies* (Uhlhorn, 370 ff.), and Syria assigned instead.

255. A high interest attaches to the doctrinal contents of these writings, both on account of their remarkable extent and the completeness of their respective theological systems, and on account of the peculiarity of these latter. In general both the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* are productions of the Jewish-Christian spirit. But the former adhere to a Gnosis far removed from the doctrine of the Church, which might be described as a speculative Ebionitism, and combine with a stricter asceticism a tolerably obvious opposition to Pauline views, while in the latter these tendencies have disappeared or are less marked, and the Ebionitic origin is indicated for the most part only by the Christology. The view that these writings express the ruling faith of the time is an exaggeration; but just as little are we at liberty to regard them exclusively as party manifestoes of a heresy essentially schismatic in its nature. It is especially the outspoken hierarchical principles and the general apologetics, the former genuinely Catholic, the latter often ingenious and learned, which form the connecting link between the traditional ecclesiastical faith and the more subjective philosophy.

The dogmatic system of the *Homilies* is too complicated and too noteworthy in its details for a short sketch to be satisfactory; detailed presentations like that of Schliemann or thorough criticisms like that of Schwegler and others, are indispensable. The fundamental idea of the theology is the identity of true Judaism and Christianity, the former being found, however, not in the written Old Testament, but in a traditional esoteric system of doctrine; its purpose is to reveal the truth respecting God and his relation to the world (anti-Gnostic metaphysics); Christ is to that extent the true prophet; the gospel doctrine of salvation (reconciliation through the death of Jesus) goes entirely into the background, and the Trinitarian Christology which subserves it is directly controverted. The Gnosis proper reveals itself in a transcendental cosmology and psychology, in the doctrine of the male and female (divine and sinful) principle in man, in the identification of Adam and Christ, etc. Clear traces of the Essene spirit are preserved in the rejection of sacrifices, in the commendation of asceticism, poverty, continence, washing, and abstinence from flesh and wine, although all these things are not absolutely commanded. As respects form, all opposing principles, however far apart they may be, become concrete in the historically dressed person of Simon the Sorcerer, who represents not only the *ψευδάνθρωπος γυνῶσις*

of the heretical schools (Marcion's above all) but also the Apostle Paul himself, as is manifest from several indisputable references to his writings, especially from the polemic against Gal. ii. 11 (*Hom.*, xvii. 19), and from the rejection of visions as a source of revelation (cf. also *Epist. Petri*, § 2; *Hom.* xi. 35).

256. Notwithstanding the extent of the two principal pseudo-Clementine writings, and the many points of contact in history and doctrine at which their affinity and their divergent tendencies may be discerned, criticism has not yet been able to come to a certain and final conclusion respecting their mutual relation. The view formerly most prevalent is that the *Recognitions* are an adaptation of the *Homilies*, or at least a later work, which, with the same historical framework, was designed to commend a dogmatic system nearer to that of the Church. But the matter has been reversed in modern times, so as to represent the *Homilies* as the later work. In the insufficiency of patristic testimony external grounds of decision fail, and the internal are less favorable to the latter view. As to date, the older work certainly reaches back into the second century, and the later in any case does not come down far beyond the beginning of the third.

The idea that the *Recognitions* are older has been defended by Hilgenfeld and Ritschl. Their line of proof seems to be dominated in part by the importance which they give to the polemic side of the contents; according to which the actual or apparent reference of this to particular chronologically limited errors is made to furnish the criterion for the time of the origin of the work. In the *Homilies* they find the Gnosis of Marcion everywhere combated, which would lead perhaps to the year 160 (but why not to a later date, since Tertullian still writes against it so zealously?). In the *Recognitions*, however, they find traces of a special polemic against the Valentinians (after 140), while finally in the assumed original writing (*κρήρυγμα*) Basilides (120) is said to be the opponent attacked.

But this standard of criticism (it is based upon other grounds also, it is true, but they appear by no means conclusive) seems to us untrustworthy; all the more so because, while in both works the theory advocated may be brought into a consistent type of doctrine, the error combated, on the other hand, is very manifold and disconnected, so much so that heathenism, false and half true Judaism, extra-Christian Gnosis, Paulinism, Montanism, are one after another, partly even simultaneously, subjects of discussion. The positive contents is the principal thing, the polemic incidental; a fact which has often been otherwise looked at by the school of Baur even with respect to the literature of the first century.

There still remains the conceivable case of mutual independence but common dependence upon an original writing. Likewise the supposition that the *Recognitions* in their present form are not a homogeneous work, and that therefore priority is to be claimed for them only partially (Lehmann). The greater or less divergence from the (subsequent) orthodox Church doctrine is no absolute criterion of the relative age. Doubtless, were the doctrine here presented the expression of the general faith of the age we should be obliged to say the more Catholic the later; but the Ebionitic Gnosis maintained itself long after the time when the *Recognitions* must have arisen, and one might infer from this the later origin of the *Homilies*, as an evidence of the gradually widening breach between the Catholic Church and

Jewish Christianity. But the analogy of the catholicizing of apocryphal books in general favors the first view. On the relation of the Gnostic Bardesanes to the Recognitions see A. Merx, *Bardesanes*, H. 1863; Hilgenfeld, *Bardesanes*, L. 1864.

257. A wholly different phase of development of the Jewish Christian spirit is presented to us in the work which has come down to us under the title of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. By its external setting also it is entirely separated from the books thus far described. According to an idea in itself not unpleasing, the author, whom we must certainly place after the middle of the second century and probably regard as a Palestinian, represents the sons of Jacob, while upon their death-beds, as holding ethical discourses with their children which, however, continually maintain a higher inspiration, as it were, through Messianic prophecies. These at once reveal the purpose of the writing, the conversion of the Jews. The older Apocalypses have exerted an unmistakable influence upon the presentation; but more than anywhere else a Levitical spirit crops out in the theology. The occasional praise bestowed upon the Apostle Paul has roused the suspicion of spuriousness.

The special mention of this writing almost needs an apology, since by its very name it makes no claim to canonicity; it may perhaps find a place here on account of its age, and as a further monument of the spirit of the time, which is only so fragmentarily attested.

Διαθήκαι τῶν β' πατριαρχῶν, text, Greek and Latin, in Grabe, I. 129-253; Fabricius, *Cod. pseudon. V. T.*, I. 496-748. A German translation in the *Berleburger Bibel*, Pt. VIII. The Latin translation, formerly the only one and often printed by itself, is by Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln († 1253).

Cf. Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, II. 1, p. 623; Wieseler, *Von den 70 Jahrw.*, p. 226; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, 2d ed. p. 334; Ritschl, *Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, p. 305; especially C. I. Nitzsch, *De test. XII. patriarcharum*, Vit. 1810, and A. Kayser, *Die Testam. der 12 Patriarchen*, in the *Strassb. theol. Beiträge*, III. 107 ff.; Ewald, *Geschichte Israels*, VII. (328) 363; Langen, *Judenthum in Palästina*, p. 140 ff.; Diestel, *Das A. T. in der chr. Kirche*, p. 50; J. M. Vorstman, *De testamentarum duodecim patr. origine et pretio*, Rot. 1857.

In *Test. Benj.*, 11, the appearance of the Apostle Paul as converter of the heathen (to the disadvantage of Israel), ἀρπάζων ὡς λύκος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ διδοὺς τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν ἔθνων, is predicted, and his writings mentioned, together with the Acts of the Apostles (ἐν βίβλοις ταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναγραφόμενος καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ); while elsewhere in the book Pauline tendencies are never found, but the opposite are clear. Ritschl (*Alt kath. Kirche*, 1st ed. 323) and Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr.*, I. 395 ff.) regard the whole book as Pauline. — The Messiah springs from both Levi and Judah, the first apparently bestowing upon him the higher dignity; Reub. 6; Sim. 7; Levi, 2, 8; Judah, 24; Napht. 8; Gad, 8; Dan, 5; Jos. 19. The priesthood of Christ, however, surely cannot be called a characteristic Pauline idea, since Paul himself does not have it.

As to the date of composition, opinions have of late become unsettled. Some place the book much earlier and have recourse to the hypothesis of interpolations.

The recently discovered Testament of Solomon (Greek in Fleck's *Anecd.*, pp. 111–140; also in Fürst's *Orient.*, Pts. V., VII.; German by F. A. Bornemann, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1844, III.; critical notes by the same author in the *Sächsische Studien*, II. 45; IV. 28 ff.) was no doubt written by a Christian, but has nothing at all to do with Christianity, and does not belong here, but rather with the Thousand and One Nights.

258. It is noteworthy that in this sphere of Jewish Christianity no writing can be pointed out which has attempted to embellish the life of Jesus himself by means of fiction. This may be explained both by the greater richness of authentic tradition in those churches and by their less developed Christology. Yet perhaps the oldest pseudepigraphic Gospel known to us ought to be mentioned in this very place. This is the so-called Acts of Pilate, probably a narrative of the passion in the form of a report of the governor of Judea to the Emperor Tiberius. This book, belonging to the first half of the second century, read by several Fathers with full confidence, disappears soon after, probably because merged into a similar but more comprehensive work.

Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, I. 214 ff.; A. v. Dale, *De oracc.*, p. 608; Lilienthal, *Gute Sache d. Offenb.*, XVI. 594; Thilo, *Prolegg. ad cod. apocr.*, p. 118; Meyer, *Vertheid. der Gesch. Jesu*, p. 35 ff.

The *Acta Pilati* (ἔκτα, with a Roman name) are adduced as evidence by Justin (c. 140), *Apol. I.*, 35, 48; Tertull., *Apol.*, 21; Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 2. Epiph., *Hær.*, i. 1, mentions them in connection with the Quartodecimani. Later mention of them occurs also in Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Homil. vii. in Pascha* (*Opp.*, VIII. 277: τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου πραχθέντα), and in Oros. vii. 4. Whether Gregor. Turon., *Hist.*, i. 21, 24 (*Pilatus gesta ad Tib. Cæsarem mittit . . . quæ gesta apud nos hodie retinentur scripta*) is to be referred to the original *Acta Pilati* or to a later recension is uncertain. His extracts agree well with *Evang. Nicod.*, xv.

In accordance with Roman judicial regulations an official report of the procurator to the higher authorities might certainly be assumed; H. P. C. Henke, *De Pontii Pilati actis in causa J. C. ad Tib. missis*, 1784. — A verbal process of the proceedings before Pilate, said to have been found in the thirteenth century in an Italian convent, is much circulated this year among the Catholic population of France.

Just as spurious, however, as these Christian Acts were the heathen ones (ὑπομνήματα) published under Maximinus (311), — a libel upon Christianity; see Euseb., *H. E.*, i. 9, 11; ix. 5, 7.

259. This work is perhaps the same as that preserved under the name of the Gospel of Nicodemus. In its extant form it does not reach back farther than the fifth century. The author of the preface claims to have translated it into Greek in the reign of Theodosius from the Hebrew of the well-known friend of Jesus. It consists of two parts, a detailed narrative of the passion, doubtless a fabulous recension of the old *Acta Pilati*, and an account, by two persons raised from the dead, of Christ's journey to Hades. Although in Greek, the book seems to have been known only in the West, where, though not men-

tioned by writers before the thirteenth century, it was circulated long before the discovery of printing in Latin, Gaelic, Anglo-Saxon, German, and French versions.

The relationship with the *Acta Pilati* is shown by the quotations in Tertullian and Epiphanius (§ 258), which are found again in the Gospel of Nicodemus, preface and chs. i., x., xi., while those of Justin seem to point to a different source.

The mediæval catalogues of Apocrypha (*Decret. Gelasii, Synops. S. S., Nicephori Stichom.*) do not contain the Gospel of Nicodemus; it occurs for the first time, — the first part, — in Vincent. Bellov., *Spec. hist.*, vii. 40 ff.; the second part in Jac. de Voragine, *Hist. lomb.*, ch. lii. In Greek writers only one mention is known, in the *Synaxarium*, or Leo Allatius, *De libris eccl.*, p. 235.

Text: Greek in Birch, 1–154; in Thilo, I. 487–795; in Tischendorf (see below). Latin in Fabricius, I. 238–297; also in Schmid. — Critical apparatus in Hess, *Bibl. d. heil. Gesch.*, I. 433 ff.; Schmidt, *Exeg. Bibl.*, II. 508. Anglo-Saxon, with the *Heptateuch*, Oxf. 1698. German in the *Berleburger Bibel*, and freq. — Cf. in general Thilo, *Prolegg.*, p. 118 ff.; W. L. Brunn, *Disq. de indole ætate et usu Evang. Nicod.*, B. 1794; Paulus, *Ueber die Entstehung des Nic. Evang.*, in his *Conservat.*, I. 181. A more accurate distinction of the elements of the now extant work is attempted by R. A. Lipsius, *Krit. Untersuchung der Pilatus-Acten*, Kiel, 1871; cf. also A. Maury, *Croyances et légendes de l'antiquité*, p. 289 ff.; Lacroze, *Thesaur. epist.*, III. 129; Gött. *Bibl.*, I. 762; G. W. Lorsche, *De vetusta Evang. Nicod. interpr. germ.*, Herb. 1802; *Unsch. Nachr.*, 1703, p. 747.

F. Münter, *Probabilien zur Leidensgeschichte aus d. Evang. Nicod.*, in Stäudlin's *Archiv*, V. 317 ff.; Tischendorf, *Pilati circa Chr. judicio quid lucis afferatur ex actis Pilati*, L. 1855. One never gets beyond isolated possibilities in such favorable comparisons, and too easily forgets that there is everywhere so much trash along with it as to cast discredit even upon these.

The names of the two men raised from the dead, Lucius and Charinus (the first variously corrupted in the manuscripts and versions, both lacking in the Greek), seem to point to an (earlier) heretical origin of the second part (§ 261). The first, on the contrary, is remarkable for its sobriety in the amplification of the canonical history. Tischendorf, *Ev. apocr.*, p. liv., separates the two parts entirely (*Gesta Pilati — Descensus ad inferos*), and gives three different Greek and Latin recensions of each (pp. 203–410), but does not make it certain that the second part ever existed by itself.

Joined with the whole in manuscripts and editions are various essays of kindred contents, but even more insipid: (1.) a Latin epistle of Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius, in a double recension, relating to the death of Jesus; (2.) a longer Greek account (*ἀναφορά*), also by Pilate, of the miracles of Jesus and his resurrection; (3.) a warrant of arrest by the Emperor against Pilate, and a double account of his execution (*παράδοσις*). Text: Fabricius, I. 298, 972; Birch, 154; Thilo, 796 ff. A new recension of the epistles in Fleck's *Anecd.*, p. 141. Cf. J. G. Altmann, *De ep. P. ad Tib.*, Br. 1755. What has been added by the latest collection (Tischendorf, pp. 411–463), in the way of new recensions or texts, is only fitted to place in yet clearer light the pitifulness of this legendary trash.

The age, if not of these fragments, at least of the legends contained in them, is evident from the apotheosis of Jesus by the Emperor Tiberius, mentioned by Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 2, and *Chron.*, Bk. ii. *ad ann. 2051*, and by Tertull., *Apol.*, v. 21, which has been believed in by no small number of moderns. Cf. A. Grevius, *Apoth. Christo a Tib. decreta*, Vit. 1722; T. Hasæus, *De decreto Tib.*, etc., Erf. 1715; J. W. J. Braun, *De Tiberii Christum in*

deorum numerum referendi consilio, Bonn, 1834; Lilienthal, *Gute Sache d. Offenb.*, xvi. 604.

We may mention incidentally, because it must even yet feed superstition, the epistle of Lentulus, the alleged predecessor of Pilate, to the senate (Fabricius, I. 301), which might be called the description of Jesus. See J. P. Gabler, *De ep. Lentuli*, Jena, 1819 f.; Vaihinger, in Herzog's *Encykl.* The pictures of Christ also, modeled earlier according to Isa. liii., later according to Psl. xlv., would be interesting material for the history of doctrines as well as for the history of art. J. Reiske, *De imagg. Christi*, L. 1692; Jablonski, *Opp.*, III. 377; J. P. Anstett, *Étude sur les images du Christ pendant les six premiers siècles*, Str. 1853; G. Peignot, *Recherches historiques sur la personne de J. Christ*, Dijon, 1829.

610 260. Richer by far must have been the literature by means of which the sects of the Gnostics, wholly alien from the Church, probably from the middle of the second century on, set in circulation their peculiar doctrines. Its history is very obscure, because the writings which belong to it are either altogether lost, or at least, with few exceptions, have come down to us only in mutilated editions. Beside the Gnostics, our authorities also mention, either generally or in particular, the Manicheans, and still other sects, differing widely among themselves, who are said to have used and approved these books. This suggests to us the probability that they did not have at their command altogether accurate knowledge of the origin and fate of the individual books, and it is uncertain whether the future will furnish us a more definite explanation.

It is important that one should form a correct conception of the true aim of such Pseudepigrapha, Catholic as well as heretical. It is not a matter of substitution of a false canon in the place of the true one (§§ 244 ff., 291 f.), but of doctrinal writings which, according to a literary custom in favor at the time, were adorned with fictitious names; possibly, of course, with a purpose of deception, commercial perhaps no less than theological. But as a rule it was not the names of the alleged authors but the doctrines and narratives presented which were depended upon to win currency for them. Our tendency romances, especially the so-called historical novels, furnish many analogies, except that at the present day every one knows exactly where he is with them.

Cf. in general the well-known larger works on Church History, as well as special works on Gnosticism (Neander, Matter, Baur, Lipsius), and Manichæism (Beausobre, Baur).

261. The most important place, so far as the matter is now known to us, is held by the early existing forged Acts, which, however, owed their not inconsiderable influence less to the fictitious name of the author than to their extravagantly miraculous contents. A few of them have been preserved in ancient manuscripts and have finally been brought to the light in our day. Their relation to the Gnostic doctrinal systems, however, has not yet been argued to a conclusion in all respects, and still less has their external history been cleared up; inasmuch as to all appearance they have passed through several hands and

been variously remodeled. Worthy of note is the assertion, widely spread in antiquity, that these Acts were written by a certain Lucius Charinus, a heretic of the second century, of whose personality all further information is wanting. Nor is it altogether certain whether we are to regard his work as a whole, or as a series of separate, independent theological romances.

The first is the view of Thilo (see especially *Acta Joh.*, p. 5), who concludes from the testimonies of the ancients, especially Photius, *Cod.*, 114, that the work of Lucius had the title *Περίοδοι τῶν ἀποστόλων*, and narrated in five books, which were not always all combined in one copy, the acts (*πράξεις*) of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, probably from the mouths of the heroes themselves, whence is to be explained the fact that frequently the first person still stands, even in the late recension of Pseudo-Abdias (§ 268). If this is true it follows at once that Lucius Charinus cannot have prefixed his name to the work, which is improbable for other reasons also; it was first added by a later custom (as in the codex of Photius: *γράφει αὐτὰς Λεύκιος Χ. ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ βιβλίον*). The same writer thus characterizes the contents: *Μύρια παιδαριώδη καὶ ἀπίθανα καὶ κακόπλαστα καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ μωρὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μαχόμενα καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄθεα περιέχει, ἣν εἰπὼν τις πάσης αἰρέσεως πηγὴν καὶ μητέρα οὐκ ἂν ἀποσφαλεῖη τοῦ εἰκότος*. — Nevertheless it is certain that the ancients often quote the Acts of individual Apostles (with and without the name of L. Charinus) as in use among Gnostics, Manicheans, Apostolicists, Encratites, Origenists, Priscillianists (see Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 25; Epiph., *Hær.*, xlvii. 1; lxi. 1; lxiii. 2, etc.; Philastr., *Hær.*, 88; *Synops. S. S.*; Niceph., *Stichom.*); usually the above-mentioned names and Philip, also *πράξεις τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, Phot., *Cod.*, 179. The *Decretum Gelasii* (§ 324) also names the Acts of Andrew, Thomas, Peter, and Philip, and after mentioning some apocryphal Gospels goes on to say: *Libri omnes quos fecit Leucius, discipulus diaboli, apocryphi*. Cf. also Fabricius, I. 744-832; Trechsel, *Kanon der Manichäer*, p. 60 ff. — *Παραδόσεις Ματθίου* (Grabe, II. 117), already extant in the second century, was probably a Gospel.

Genuine fragments of the work or works of Lucius Charinus appear not to be in existence in so far as they are to be sought in the mutilated editions (§ 267). Yet we specify here, as nearer to the original text and still containing traces of heretical theology, the following: —

1. *Fragmenta Actuum S. Joannis*, ed. Thilo, Hal. 1847. — The otherwise ecclesiastically authenticated history edited by Tischendorf (*Acta apocr.*, p. 266) contains very little dogmatically suspicious.

2. *Acta Thomæ*, ed. Thilo, L. 1823, and in Tischendorf, p. 190 ff., in which, although not at first hand, Gnostic and Manichean elements may still be recognized. Cf. Thilo, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, I. 4; II. 2.

3. *Acta Philippi* (at Hierapolis), in Tischendorf, p. 75 ff., perhaps only a fragment, showing points of agreement with Gnosticism, or at least with a theology more fantastic than philosophic.

262. But this was by no means the only form in which the theology of heretical thinkers or the dreams of wild syncretic imaginations were set forth. Unfortunately, in respect to most of which we have any knowledge at all it ends with the names, which have been brought down to us by writers themselves unknown, often of a later age, perhaps from mere hearsay. Indeed, with respect to many books we do not even

know with certainty whether they really owed their origin to a departure from the doctrine of the Church. The little that remains has been preserved only in Catholic setting. Even the future discoveries to be hoped for, perhaps in Syriac and Coptic manuscripts, are hardly likely to bring us an uncorrupted original text. A complete catalogue of such a heretical library therefore possesses little interest.

Notices and testimonies referring to alleged Gnostic and other Gospels are collected by Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. N. T.*, I. 335-386; II. 526-554; *Vet. Test.*, I. 95. (Gospels of Eve, Matthias, Philip, Judas Iscariot, of Perfection; also magic books of Jesus, the story of Mary and the midwife, of Zecharias, father of the Baptist, etc.). Especially prominent are the Gospel of Thomas, of the childhood of Jesus, and a *Γέννα Μαρίας*, perhaps the sources of the works mentioned in § 265, of which in any case the writing *Θωμᾶ τοῦ Ἰσραηλῆτου φιλοσόφου λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ κυρίου* (Fabricius, I. 159; Thilo, pp. 275-315; cf. his *Acta Thomæ prol.*, p. 24; Tischendorf, pp. 134-170, in three different recensions) can only be a very colorless remnant. An unprinted compilation, said to be by Lucius, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου εἰς τὴν κομῆσιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης* (*De transitu B. V.*, cf. Thilo, *l. c.*, p. 16; Fabricius, II. 533), to judge by the title, cannot be extant in its original form (§ 265).

Gnostic Apocalypses (of Adam, Abraham, Elijah, Stephen, Paul, perhaps also of Moses, Zephaniah, Thomas), Fabricius, I. 935-970; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, 231 ff. On the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (2 Cor. xii. 1 ff.) see Tischendorf, in the *Studien*, 1851, II.; on the latter, also Hävernick, *Lucubr. crit. in Apoc.*, p. 14. Syriac fragments of the Apocalypse of Adam by E. Renan, in the *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov. 1853.

We pass over several books with Old Testament names. Likewise such books as are not properly pseudepigraphic, however related to those mentioned in origin and purpose; e. g., the so-called *Πίστις Σοφία* (Coptic and Latin edition by J. H. Petermann, B. 1851).

6/20 263. These Gnostic fables, by which the biblical history was distorted beyond recognition, were circulated through the whole Orient, especially in regions and among peoples where there was little or no opportunity to draw from the pure sources, and maintained themselves for centuries, though more in the mouths of the people than by the help of the writings. The most striking proof of these facts, not unimportant in the history of Christianity, is given by the apocryphal narratives in the Koran, which Mohammed neither invented nor obtained from books. The older heretical form of divers stories and legends, which have otherwise come down to us only in colorless catholicized forms, has apparently been preserved in the sacred documents of Islam; others have there only escaped oblivion.

Cf. especially *Sur.*, iii. and xix.; also iv. 156 ff.; v. 82, 109 ff.; xxi. 89 f.; xxiii. 52; xliii. 57 ff. ed. Hinkelm.

J. Zechendorf, *Nugæ Alcorani*, 1627; W. Schickard, *Deus orbis Saracenorum*, Tüb. 1622; L. Warner, *Compendium hist. eorum quæ Muh. de Christo tradunt*, Leyd. 1643; Dapper, *Asia*, p. 534 ff.; Hottinger, *Hist. or.*, p. 17; D. Mill, *Diss.*, p. 1; J. C. Schwarz, *De Moh. furto sententiarum S. S.*, L.

1711; J. M. Lange, *Fabulæ Muh.*, Nor. 1697; J. H. Callenberg, *Historia J. C. muhammedica*, Hal. 1736; Herbelot, *Bibl. or.*, sub voce *Isa.*; (Hasse) *Königsberger Osterprogramm*, 1769; G. L. Bauer, *Was hielt Moh. von d. chr. Relig. u. ihrem Stifter*, Nürnberg. 1782; J. E. C. Schmidt, *Bibl.*, I. 110, and *Allg. Bibl.*, IV. 35; Haller, *Lehre Moh.*, p. 197; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, XIX. 327; Norberg, *Opp.*, III. 459; J. C. W. Augusti, *Christologie coranice lineamenta*, Jena, 1799; German, in his *Apologien*, p. 158 ff.; cf. also his *Vindicie cor.*, p. 1 ff.; Thilo, *Cod. apocr.*, I. 132; G. Flügel, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*, Art. *Indschil*; Sokolnicky, *Mohamet législateur des femmes; ses opinions sur le Christ*, Par. 1846; C. F. Gerock, *Alcoranus prophetici muneris Christi laudator*, Arg. 1833; but especially his *Christologie des Koran*, Hamb. 1839; A. Maier, in the *Freib. Zeitschr.*, II. 34 ff.; T. Nöldeke, in the *Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1858, p. 699; A. Sprenger, *Leben u. Lehre Muhammeds*, B. 1861 f., 3 vols.; J. P. Maneval, *Christologie du Coran*, Toul. 1867. [Sir Wm. Muir, *The Corân; its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the true Scriptures*, Allahabad, 1860, 3d ed. Lond. 1878; H. Hirschfeld, *Judische Elem. im Koran*, B. 1878. For a full recent bibliography on Mohammed, Mohammedanism, and the Koran, see Schaff-Herzog.]

Some have regarded the alleged Gospel of Barnabas, of which a poor Italian text in manuscript is extant, as the source of the apocryphal narratives of the Koran; but this is only the botch of a renegade who doubtless drew from the Koran itself and attempted to support the Arabic traditions by a Christian authority. S. Toland, *Nazarenus; or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity; containing the history of the Gospel of Barnabas*, ed. 2, Lond. 1718; against him Mosheim, *Vindicie antiquæ chr. discipl. contra Tolandum*, ed. 2, 1722; Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, II. 365 ff.; Baumgarten, *Hallische Bibliothek*, III. 299; *Bibl. Brem.*, III. 894; Lacroze, *Thesaur. epist.*, I. 137.

264. But from the same turbid fountain, for the most part, those also drew who felt themselves obliged to aid the up-building of the Catholic people by sacred fables, whether because they had in mind simply the efficacy of the means or because they actually persuaded themselves that their accounts were based upon ancient tradition. Yet they still found opportunity and need to enlarge the range of legend, especially as the ascetic element made its influence felt, and the glory of the gospel personages was made the model of that which according to the conceptions of latter times shone around the heads of the heroes of the Church. For this very reason many of these fables have been deeply impressed upon the memory of Christian people, and have become, so to speak, articles of faith.

If our present business were a history not of the literature but of tradition, a great mass of material might be gathered from the Church Fathers (especially in homilies for feast-days) and from the monuments of art. The necessity of pictorial representation for the eye, and the homiletical necessity, worked in the same way as books and the religious spirit of the time for the dissemination of these stories.

Most of the still extant apocryphal writings of this kind, especially the Gospels, exist in many manuscripts, some of them in varying recensions, which of itself would prove their former dissemination, even if ancient versions did not also bear witness to it.

265. We have to mention here a series of writings referring chiefly to the history of Jesus, which may be comprehended under the common name of Gospels of the Childhood. Yet not all of them are occupied exclusively or chiefly with the birth and youth of the Redeemer, and they embellish these subjects with fables insipid in contrivance but following faithfully the metaphysical point of view of the ecclesiastical Christology. Several have the history of the parents of the Saviour for their subject, and vie with each other in praising their virgin purity. The Oriental churches of all tongues seem to have made great account of such books; the Latin, otherwise inclined to Mariolatry, were not willing to be poorer.

Protevangelium Jacobi, brought to Europe in the sixteenth century by W. Postel; Greek and Latin in Neander; Fabricius, I. 66-125; Birch, pp. 195-242; Thilo, pp. 159-273; Tischendorf, pp. 1-49; separate edition with apparatus by C. A. Suckow, Bresl. 1840. There is an Arabic and a Coptic version in manuscript. Traces of the work reach as far back as Origen, but the legends are found touched upon in Justin and Clement; prized and read in Oriental churches. C. A. Suckow, *De argumento et indole Prot. Jac.*, Br. 1830.

Historia Josephi fabri lignarii, Arabic and Latin, edited by G. Wallin, L. 1722; also in Thilo, pp. 1-61; Latin alone, in Fabricius, *Cod. pseud. V. T.*, II. 309-336, and Tischendorf, pp. 115-133. Used especially by the Egyptian Christians for a church reading at the feast of the saint; indeed the original was Coptic and it appears to be preserved even yet in manuscript in both the Egyptian languages.

Evangelium de nativitate S. Mariæ, Latin in Fabricius, I. 1-38; Thilo, pp. 317-336; Tischendorf, pp. 106-114; with a prologue in epistolary form in which Matthew is named as the author, Jerome as the translator; Tischendorf, however, in accordance with the manuscripts, connects it with the following as an older text.

Historia de nativ. Mariæ et infantia Salvatoris, Latin in Thilo, pp. 337-400; ostensibly by James, the son of Joseph; in Tischendorf, pp. 50-105, more complete. Both recensions are free editing, relatively extensions, of the legends found in the *Protevangelium*. — *Liber de infantia Mariæ et Christi, ex cod. Stuttg.*, ed. Osc. Schade, Hal. 1869.

Evangelium infantie, Arabic and Latin, ed. et ill. H. Sike, Traj. 1697; in Thilo, pp. 63-158; in Fabricius (I. 168-211), Latin only, so also in Schmid and Tischendorf. The most extensive work of this kind and the most widely disseminated, certainly also a compilation from earlier sources. So far as is now known originally Syriac and in use among the Nestorians, spreading thence into Egypt, Armenia and India.

Liber de transitu B. V. Mariæ, in manuscripts in various languages and recensions, Arabic printed, edited by M. Enger, Elb. 1854; cf. E. Reuss, in the *Strassb. theol. Beiträge*, VI. 119; if not originally (§ 262), certainly as to its present contents, a Catholic legend of the journey of Mary to heaven, and current in the Latin Church no less than in the Oriental.

J. A. Schmid, *Profusiones marianæ*, ed. Mosheim, Helmst. 1733; F. I. Schwarz, *De ev. infantie Jesu vero et ficto*, L. 1785; J. E. C. Schmidt, *Ueber die Evv. der Kindheit*, (Bibl., II. 481); F. W. Genthe, *Die Jungfrau Maria, ihre Evangelien und ihre Wunder*, H. 1852; Steitz, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, Art. *Maria*. In general, Nicolas, *Études sur les évang. apocr.* (§ 247).

G. Veessenmeyer, *Beitrag zum Cod. apocr.* (Herod's command for the murder of the children), in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, II. 1, p. 38.

266. As has already been observed, the busy hand of silly fiction wisely refrained from the public life and teachings of Jesus. Single legends with which the Middle Ages were edified doubtless belong for the most part to this age itself and to its thoroughly kindly and poetic spirit; but they were never collected in a pseudepigraphic Gospel. The best-known fragment of wholly ancient date which may find its place here is the Epistle of Jesus to Abgar, the king of Edessa, together with the previous epistle of the latter to Jesus. It is said to have been preserved in Syriac in the archives of the king, and has found a favorable reception, wholly undeserved, with the ancients and even with many moderns.

Various apocryphal narratives of earlier and later Greek writers are collected in Neander (§ 243).

The correspondence with Abgar is preserved by Eusebius, *H. E.*, i. 13 (Syriac in Cureton's *Monumenta*, p. 1 ff.), received in the Syrian Church (Sozom., *H. E.*, vi. 1), and defended or commended by moderns (Cave, *Scriptt.*, p. 1; Grabe, *Spic.*, p. 1, and others); by Thiersch, *Kirchengesch.*, I. 106, even brought into connection with Jn. xii. 20 ff. The tradition associated with it, also preserved in the archives, confounds the Apostles Judas and Thomas, and distinguishes Thaddeus from the first as one of the seventy disciples. Cf. Fabricius, I. 318; Thilo, *Proleg. ad Acta Thomæ*, p. 85; Jacob v. Sarug, in Grimm's *Syr. Chrest.*, p. 102; Greg. Barhebr., *Chronic.*, ed. Bruns, p. 51; G. H. Göze, *De Christi scriptis*, Vit. 1687; J. C. Fraendorff, *De ep. Christi ad Agbarum* (sic), L. 1693; E. Dalhusius, *De eadem Hafn.* 1699; J. S. Semler, *De eadem*, Hal. 1768; B. Welte, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1842, III. 336; W. F. Rinck, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, 1843, II. Germann, in the *Berleburger Bibel*, VIII. 413. [Cf. R. A. Lipsius, *Die edessenische Abgar-Sage*, Br. 1880.] — The Armenian historian Moses Chorenensis (ed. Whiston, II. 29) extends the narrative of Eusebius and adds a correspondence of Tiberius and Abgar concerning Pilate.

In Fabricius, I. 384 ff., is also an epistle of Jesus respecting the keeping of Sunday; epistles of Mary to St. Ignatius, to the inhabitants of Florence, and to those of Messina; most of them believed to have fallen from heaven, and to be referred not so much to the history of pseudepigraphic literature as to that of superstition. Several are mentioned by Thilo, *l. c.*, p. 87; Seiler, *Krit. Beiträge*, I. 117; Ewald, in the *Deutsch. morgenl. Zeitschr.*, 1847, I. 16; III. 335; Murr, *Beiträge zur arab. Lit.*, p. 11; L. de Dieu, in Xaverius, *Hist. Chr.*, p. 611.

A modern apocryphal Gospel has been compiled from old fables by the Jesuit Hier. Xaverius; *Historia Christi persice conscripta simulque multis modis contaminata*, translated and illustrated by L. de Dieu, Leyd. 1639, 4°, by whom a similar history of Peter was edited from the same author.

267. A much wider range was open to the imagination when the attempt was made to entertain the wonder loving curiosity of the people by accounts of the lives of the Twelve Apostles and their immediate disciples. They had written very little of themselves, and the sacred radiance which surrounded their names, growing brighter and brighter from generation to generation, was an irresistible temptation to fix its rays in pictures of more definite outlines. Much material had already been

prepared by the heretics, who had exerted their talent for fiction for other purposes. Moreover the woes of the time sought consolation in illustrious models, and the heroism of the martyrs was strengthened by contemplating them. Above all others the legends exalted the leader of the Apostles, not so much by miracle and adventure, as by the more important field and higher rank which they assigned to him.

The fact must be especially emphasized that in these Catholic pseudepigrapha, as a rule, Paul appears as a helper of Peter, and (in Rome) plays a subordinate part. Usually the books treat of both at once. For *Acta Petri* of various kinds see §§ 253 ff., 261. *Acta Pauli* are known to Origen and Eusebius, see Fabricius, I. 791; Grabe, I. 81, 128. Greek *Acta Petri et Pauli* are given by Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, XIV.; others by Thilo, Hal. 1837 (also in Tischendorf), together with a partly parallel Latin *Passio Petri et Pauli*. The latter is nearly related to Marcellus, *De mirificis rebus et actibus Pet. et Pauli*, in Fabricius, II. 632, cf. I. 778, which is also found in Latin codices of the canonical Acts of the Apostles. Later, probably, is Pseudo-Linus, *De passione Pet. et Pauli* (Fabricius, I. 775, II. 626, and in Faber Stapul., *Comm. ad epp. paul.*).

Acta Pauli et Theclæ (after a legend of Asia Minor), known to Tertullian, *De bapt.*, ch. xvii.; cf. Jerome, *Catal.*, 7; Greek in Grabe, I. 95 ff., and Tischendorf; see also Thilo, *Acta Thomæ, prolegomena*, p. 59; Lardner, *Credibility*, II. 1, p. 596.

Acta Andreæ, first known in Latin (Fabricius, I. 745), then printed in Greek under the title *Presbyterorum et diaconorum Achaïæ epist. de martyrio Andreæ*, ed. C. C. Woog, L. 1749, and in Tischendorf; regarded by many scholars as a writing of the first century. Different from these, *Acta Andreæ et Matthiæ* (*Matthæi*), ed. Thilo, Hal. 1846, and in Tischendorf; the latter much more extravagant, but both perhaps to be derived from the work of Lucius; the latter history almost word for word in an old Anglo-Saxon poem (*Andrew and Helen*, edited by J. Grimm, 1840). *Acta Matthæi* or *Matthiæ*, with different contents, have also been edited by Tischendorf in Greek.

In the latter collection are also found *Acta Thaddæi*, which allude to the correspondence with Abgar (§ 266); *Acta Philippi*, different from those mentioned in § 261, and having their scene in Athens, — perhaps also a fragment of the collection of Lucius, as to their substance, *Acta* or *Martyrium Thomæ*, presumably holding a similar relation to the better known Acts of the same Apostle; *Acta Bartholomæi*, and finally *Acta Barnabæ*, by Mark, formerly in the *Acta S. S.* of the Bollandists (*Junius*, Vol. II.). Cf. Fabricius, I. 781.

Mutilated Acts of John have been printed: Mellitus (Pseudo-Melito, see Piper, in the *Studien*, 1838, I. 111), *De passione S. Joannis*, Latin, in Fabricius, II. 604–623; Prochorus, Περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου, Greek, in Birch, pp. 261–307, incomplete, and in Neander's collection. Syriac Acts of John, Andrew, Thomas, Matthew, and Philip have been edited by W. Wright in his 2d volume, of which the latter only are an enrichment of the former store. [*The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, ed. Syriac and English, by Dr. G. Phillips, Lond. 1876.]

268. It may be that many of the writings mentioned are later than should have been noticed here. But it is difficult to draw the line between the legends which reach back into the early times of the Christian Church and the pious fables in-

vented by later generations to embellish and render them unrecognizable. Fiction doubtless from the beginning took the greater space, even when any at all was left for the truth. When it had exhausted itself upon this field and turned its attention to other related material, it finished its work by combining its gay images, however discordant their colors and the spirit in which they were mixed, into one great painting; to the sober judgment a monument of bad taste and superstition; but to a kindred spirit an evidence of steadfast trust in God and childlike piety.

Abdies Babylonice primi episcopi de historia certaminis apostolici libri X., Julio Africano interprete, Bas. 1551, and freq.; in Fabricius, I. 387-742. This compilation, printed also in Protestant editions and versions, whose alleged author claims to have been ordained as bishop by the Apostles themselves, was wholly unknown in antiquity, and was hardly made before the seventh century. It draws from very various sources, heretical and Catholic, and its value varies, if it can be said to have any, from book to book. Thus the history of Paul is almost wholly from Luke, while in other portions (e. g., Philip, Thomas, Andrew, Bartholomew, John) one detects traces of the *Πελοδοι* of Lucius or obvious relationship with the otherwise known older apocryphal Acts.

J. C. Stemler, *De vera fictaque certaminis apost. historia*, L. 1767.

269. On account of the infrequent choice of the epistolary form for the Catholic Pseudepigrapha all the greater interest attaches to the little doctrinal writing which has found a place in the canonical collection of the sacred writings of the New Testament under the name of the Second Epistle of Peter, the only example, in our judgment, of a positive mistake of the Church in her final choice. We do not mean a mistake as to its contents, as to whether this writing was in conflict with the spirit of the Gospel, but simply with respect to its external historical relations. Yet it is doubtless true that had it not been for the name, the contents would not in all respects have commended themselves as from the same source as the original apostolic preaching. The apparent purpose of this Epistle is to defend the doctrine of the last things, in its Jewish form, and against unbelief no less than against a spiritualizing interpretation. Such a polemic was perfectly consistent with the necessity of winning the friends and followers of Paul, among whom at the first a different view was to be assumed, and the commendation of the Apostle to the Gentiles inserted shows at the same time that the author occupied a Catholic and unificatory position, especially as he quite plainly characterizes his principal opponents as Gnostics.

It cannot be denied that the scoffers at the doctrine of the Parousia in iii. 3 ff. are attacked on a different side from the opponents combated in the second chapter. But this does not justify the conclusion that they were different persons. The second chapter, directed against the hostile and reprehensible

tendency of the time in general, is needed to clear the way properly for the special purpose of the author. Since he only copies his rhetoric, it is not strange that the delineation is not clear, and that the concrete image floating before his mind cannot well be distinguished from the different one of Jude; but theological errors are treated side by side with moral corruption, cf. i. 5, γνῶσις; i. 16, σεσωφισμένοι μῦθοι; ii. 1, 19.

Exegetical helps, see under the First Epistle, § 149. Also J. S. Semler, 1784; W. O. Dietlein, B. 1851; F. Steinfass, Rost. 1863; T. Schott, Erl. 1863. [Harms, 1873; Ernst, 1878; J. F. Demarest, N. Y. 1865; John Lillie, N. Y. 1869.]

270. It is not so much upon the latter circumstance as upon the profound silence of writers down to the third century that we found our conjecture that this is not one of the oldest examples of pseudepigraphic literature. Its actual spuriousness is betrayed by unequivocal signs, among which the perfectly plain plagiarism which the author commits upon the Epistle of Jude is the chief. Its difference from the First Epistle of Peter, already noticed by the ancients, might in reality be used against the latter just as well. But the remarkable anxiety of the writer to make himself known as the Apostle, his acquaintance with the apostolic literature in its later form, and some other circumstances, confirm the above chief ground of decision. Moreover the long hesitation and conflict in the ancient Church would otherwise be completely inexplicable.

For the so-called external evidences cf. the history of the canon. The necessity of finding ancient evidences has led apologetics so far that one would almost suppose that the second century could have obtained its Christianity nowhere else than from this Epistle. The relationship of 2 Pet. ii. 1-3, iii., with Jude is acknowledged on all sides, and now, by most, also the dependence of the first; it is evident especially from the peculiar alterations or misconceptions in 2 Pet. ii. 13, 17 = Jud. 12; from ii. 11 which is incomprehensible without Jud. 9; and in general from the fact that the delineation in Jude is coherent, while in 2 Peter it is obscure because of its reference to a different subject.

Upon the theological and linguistic differences between the First and Second Epistles of Peter, already discovered by Jerome and much emphasized by modern criticism, we lay no great weight in the decision of the question of the genuineness of the latter. The two Epistles are too short, treat of wholly different matters, and really direct contradictions there are none. Only when the spuriousness has been proved in other ways may this point also be taken into account.

The readers, according to iii. 1, are the same as those of the First Epistle, which, however, names a more limited circle than the second does in i. 1. Naturally, because at the time of its composition the Epistles of the apostles were already the common possession of all Christendom. The same readers are regarded in i. 16 as disciples of Peter, in iii. 15 as disciples of Paul, which, at a later period, is certainly easily reconcilable from the ecclesiastico-theological standpoint, but not as a matter of history. — In iii. 16 a collection of Pauline Epistles is recognized as γραφή and referred to as a collection, — for the assertion would be false with reference to them singly, — and at the same time as already a subject of exegetical study. — i. 14 appears (?) to be acquainted with the closing chapter of John, or at least the legend there

suggested. — iii. 2 according to the usual reading (*ἡμῶν*) is evidently out of character; yet Lachmann and Tischendorf, with ancient codices and the Vulgate, read *δουῶν*. — In iii. 5 ff. appear philosophical propositions which would have been foreign to the pure apostolic type of doctrine. (Cf. Vitringa, *Obss.*, 1116; Budde, in *Misc. Grön.*, I.; Seiler, Erl. 1792; Henke, *N. M.*, III. 315.)

So Erasmus, Calvin, Grotius, Semler, Schmidt, Eichhorn, De Wette, Guericke's *Beiträge*, 175; Neander, *Apostelgesch.*, II. 310 (471); Credner, Mayerhoff, Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, I. 490; Neudecker, Kern, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1835, II. 65; Huther; — especially: E. A. Richter, *De origine ep. petr. post. ex ep. Judæ repetenda*, Vit. 1810; J. H. Magnus, *Examen de l'auth.*, etc., Str. 1835; L. Audemars, *Seconde ép. de P.*, Gen. 1838; A. L. Daumas, *Introd. crit. à la 2de ép. de P.*, Str. 1845; Ewald, *Gesch. Israels*, VII. (231) 260.

On the other hand the genuineness is defended, beside nearly all ancient writers, by Michaelis, Augusti, Pott, Guericke, in his *Einl.*, and especially by F. A. J. Nietzsche, *Ep. Petri posterior vindicata*, L. 1785; J. F. Flatt, *Origo ep. P. genuina*, Tüb. 1806; J. C. W. Dahl, *Auth. ep. P. post. et Judæ*, Rost. 1807; H. Olshausen, *De integr. et auth.*, etc., Reg. 1822 [E. tr. by B. B. Edwards, in *Bibl. Repos.*, July and Oct., 1836]; C. N. de Graaff, *Analecta*, etc., Leyd. 1833 (the two latter undecided). Also: P. E. Picot, *Recherches sur la 2de ép. de P.*, Gen. 1829; F. H. Kern, *De sec. Petri ep.*, Tüb. 1829; E. Moutier, *La 2de ép. de Pierre et celle de Jude sont auth.*, Str. 1835; I. A. Delille, *Auth. de la 2de ép. de Pierre*, Str. 1835; F. Windischmann, *Vindiciæ petrinx*, Rat. 1836; A. L. C. Heydenreich, *Ein Wort zur Vertheidigung*, etc., Herb. 1837; Dietlein, Steinfass, Schott, see above; F. Ollier, *Introd. crit.*, etc., Toul. 1852; Thiersch, *Apostelgesch.*, 209.

Intermediate views without sufficient foundation: Bertholdt (*Einl.*, VI.) accepts the second chapter. Ullmann, *Der 2te Brief Petri*, Heid. 1821, also the third; Schott, *Isag.*, p. 424, a pupil of Peter, from reminiscences; J. P. Lange (Herzog's *Encykl.*, XI. 437, and *Apost. Zeitalter*, I. 153) regards 2 Pet. i. 20–iii. 3, on account of the repetition of the introductory words, as interpolated from the Epistle of Jude, which, being drawn from a canonical source, signifies nothing.

271. Most of the remaining writings which belong here owe their existence not so much to a didactic necessity, like their unapproachable models, as to the desire to fill out every imagined gap in the biblical literature. Thus a well-known passage of the Epistle to the Colossians gave the idea for an Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans. Its origin is unknown; no traces of its existence are found before the fourth century. It is preserved only in Latin, and is in spirit and words alike a short compilation of Pauline phrases, borrowed for the most part from the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians. Consequently, at a time when there was no historical criticism, it could creep in among the number of the genuine books wholly unopposed, and the Middle Ages meant no harm in finding and leaving it there.

See Col. iv. 16 and above, § 119. Jerome, *Catal. Scr.*, ch. v.: *legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses sed ab omnibus exploditur*; Theodoret, *Ad Col. l. l.*: *τινὲς ἐπέλαβον καὶ πρὸς Λαοδικεῖας αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι, αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖνυν καὶ προσφέρουσι πεπασμένην ἐπιστολήν*. Cf. Gregorius Max., § 328; *Concil. Nicæn.*, II. (§ 328); Haymo Halb., *Ad Col. l. l.*: *Et eam quæ erat Laodicensium ideo*

præcepi legi quia, licet perparva sit et in canone non habeatur, aliquid tamen utilitatis habet. Cf. also §§ 329, 330, and *Unsch. Nach.*, 1705, p. 835.

Text and Greek (re-?) translation, the latter by Elias Hutter (1599), see in Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, I. 853 ff., also in Stein's *Comm. zum Lucas*, p. 295; Anger, *Ueber den Laod. Brief* (§ 119); with variants from the Bohemian version, in Alter, *N. T.*, II. 1067.

Cf. on this and the following sections, as well as for some passages in the foregoing: H. Witsius, *De scriptis Pauli suppositis* (*Melet.*, p. 328 ff.), B. Elsing, *De pseudepigraphis Pauli ap.*, L. 1707.

272. Under the same head belongs a Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, preceded by a letter addressed by them to the Apostle, together with a short narrative connecting the two epistles. The former Epistle was perhaps designed to supply the place of the lost First: but it does not harmonize with the circumstances as otherwise known. It contains a polemic against heretics who promulgated Gnostic principles, but especially against those who denied the human nature of Christ and the resurrection of the flesh. But it is too colorless to determine with certainty its age or the immediate purpose of its origin. The Epistle has come down to us only in the Armenian language, and in manuscripts of the Bible as a portion of Sacred Scripture. But its contents in no way justify the honor which has thus been accorded it, and which Occidental scholars, from love of the unusual, have attempted to maintain for it.

It was not known in Europe until the seventeenth century, yet before the Armenian version of the Bible. Of a Greek (or in the first place a Syriac?) original, which might certainly be conjectured, there is nowhere any trace. — Made known for the first time, incompletely, by P. Masson and D. Wilkins, 1715 (Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, II. 666; *Unschuld. Nachr.*, 1714, p. 827; *Frühauflageles. Früchte*, 1736, p. 171); complete, not until 1727 (after Lacroze's translation, see his *Thes. epist.*, III. 237), and 1736, by W. Whiston and his sons, by the latter also Greek and Latin with notes, with the Armenian historian Moses of Chorene. From this edition: *Epp. duæ apocr. Corr. ad Paulum et Pauli ad Corinthios, gr. et lat. cum Whistoniorum notis*, ed. J. B. Carpzov, L. 1776. Armenian manuscripts of the Mechitarists at San Lazzaro give a much better text, which has passed into the modern Armenian editions of the Bible; where, however, they have been separated from the other two Epistles to the Corinthians and placed among the Apocrypha.

Das Sendschreiben der Korr. an P. und das 3te Sendschr. des P. an die Korr., translated into German, with an introduction on (in favor of) the genuineness, by W. F. Rinck, Heidelberg. 1823; against him, Ullmann, *Ueber den 3ten Brief*, etc., Heidelberg. 1823; Bengel's *Archiv*, VII. 287.

When theologians of the Middle Ages (Pseudo-Anselm and Thom. Aquinas, *Ad Col.*, iv. 16, and others) speak of sixteen epistles of Paul, they reckon, beside the thirteen usual ones and that to the Hebrews, that to the Laodiceans and the lost one to the Corinthians (1 Cor. v. 9), but not this third; but they repeat the ingenious conceit of Gregory (§ 328) to explain why there should be really only fourteen.

273. Other extant spurious epistles of apostolic men scarcely deserve mention in this history, since they have never really

attained the honor of being incorporated into the sacred collection of any Church. Yet they may be introduced on account of the names with which they are adorned. The tradition, quite generally believed in ancient times, of friendly relations between the Apostle Paul and the philosopher Seneca gave rise to an apocryphal correspondence between the two, which, in spite of its silliness, has never lacked admirers. Various epistles are extant ascribed to Clement of Rome, partly homiletic, partly ascetic, partly disciplinary in contents, which appear once to have enjoyed a certain authority.

(1.) Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, I. 880 ff.; an improved text with critical apparatus, ed. C. R. Fickert, Br. 1853; ed. F. X. Kraus, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1867, IV.; six epistles of Paul, eight of Seneca, as unworthy of the latter as of the former, altogether so either of a philosopher or of a gospel Christian. Yet they secured Seneca a place in Jerome's catalogue of the writers of the Church (Ch. xii.: *quem non ponere in catalogo sanctorum nisi me illæ epp. provocarent quæ leguntur a plurimis*). Augustine also, *Ep. 153 ad Maced.*, cites them, but without express recognition. Is the ground of the fiction to be looked for in Acts xviii. 12 ff., where Gallio, Seneca's brother, apparently shows himself mercifully inclined toward the Christians? Certainly rather here than in the tendency of Seneca's philosophy. Cf. Witsius, *Melet.*, p. 234; Hagemann, *Einkl.*, p. 674; A. Strauch, *De Christianismo Senecæ*, Vit. 1668; C. F. Pfothenhauer, *De Seneca non christiano*, Vit. s. a.; F. C. Gelpke, *De familiaritate P. et S.*, L. 1812; C. Aubertin, *Étude critique sur les rapports supposés entre Sénèque et S. Paul*, Par. 1857. — Even modern critics (not merely fanciful Frenchmen like J. de Maistre, *Soirées de S. Pétersbourg*, IX.; F. de Champagny, *Les Césars*, IV. 317; A. Fleury, *S. Paul et Sénèque*, 1853, but also Fickert) regard an epistolary relation between Paul and Seneca as entirely conceivable, the latter, however, distinctly placing the now extant epistles in the seventh century and distinguishing them from those read by Jerome. Cf. also C. Schmidt, *La Société civile dans le monde romain*, p. 379; Baur, in the *Jenaer Zeitschr.*, 1858, II., III.; E. Reuss, Art. *Seneca*, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

(2.) Two Syriac epistles of Clement of Rome in commendation of celibacy, published by Wetstein, in the appendix to his *N. T.*, 1752, with prolegomena in favor of their genuineness. (New edition by J. T. Beelen, Löw. 1856; German by P. Zingerle, Vienna, 1827.) Modern (Catholic) writers also defend them, but upon wholly insufficient grounds. See Uhlhorn, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, II. 722. Several Latin epistles of the same author on matters of church discipline stand (with as much right as many others!) in the canonical collections and decrees of councils.

(3.) More interesting is the fragment which is usually attached to the collections of the Apostolic Fathers as the Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (§ 235). Its genuineness is defended, against Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 38, and Jerome, *Cat.*, ch. xv., by Photius, *Cod.*, 113, Coutelier, Mansi, and many others. Cf. J. A. Dietelmair, *De fragmento Clem. quod sub nomine*, etc., Altd. 1749; Schwegler, *Nachapost. Zeitalter*, I. 448; Hagemann, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1861, IV. It is a Jewish Christian treatise, especially emphasizing abstinence, which nevertheless expressly rejects the later specially so-called Ebionitic Christology, — therefore catholicized, — and quotes the Gospel of the Egyptians.

274. Not the latest productions of the apocryphal Christian literature are the Apocalypses. Yet it was certainly not so

often the inner impulse which caused the choice of this form as the once existing taste for it. The writings to be arranged under this head do not at all resemble one another either in spirit or style. The most insignificant among them, mostly lost, were decked with the names of one or another Apostle. The seers of the Old Testament were also obliged to lend their names to Christian discourses, in which the prophetic form was the most natural. Nay even heathen prophets and prophetesses did like service, with perhaps all the greater effect upon credulous readers, and without offense in a century which was eager to find in heathenism the traces and ruins of ancient revelations.

Prophecies of Hystaspes, said to be an ancient Median king, reach back nearly to the first century, and are already mentioned incidentally by Justin and Clement (§ 293). Yet the few notices (Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, I. 93; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, 237) are not sufficient to form a judgment as to their origin, form, and tendency. C. W. F. Walch, *De Hystaspe ejusque vaticiniis*, in the *Comment. Soc. Götting.*, 1779.

Well known are the Sibylline Oracles, in Greek hexameters, according to modern investigations a series of larger and smaller writings (and fragments) put together in the codices and editions, partly of Jewish, but partly also, and to a considerable extent, of Christian origin. The idea that ancient heathen oracles were interwoven is to be rejected. The patristic apologetics, in the childlike faith in their genuineness, made much of these evidences of revelation (§ 293). Most complete edition of the eight books formerly known, by S. Gallæus, Amst. 1689, 4°; newly discovered portions in the *Scriptorum vet. nova collectio*, ed. A. Maius, III. Pt. 3, and Bk. XIV., Mediol. 1817; complete edition by Alexandre, Par. 1844, 3 vols.; new edition in one volume, 1869; edition with German metrical translation by J. H. Friedlieb, L. 1852. — For older notices see E. Schmid, *Op. bibl.*, p. 1488; Van Dale, *De orig. idol.*, p. 308; G. J. Voss, *De poetis gr.*, ch. 1; J. H. Horb, *Oracula sib. de Christo*, L. 1667; I. Voss, *De oracc. Sib.*, Leyd. 1680; R. Simon, *Disq.*, ad fin.; P. Petit, *De Sibylla*, L. 1686; J. Marek, *De Sibyllinis carminibus*, Franeq. 1682; J. Reiske, *De vaticiniis Sibyll.*, L. 1688; J. C. Mehring, *Vertheidigung der Sib. Propheceyungen*, Halle, 1720 (by whom also a German translation, 1719); Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, I. 167; Hyde, *Reliq. pers.*, p. 386; Oudin, *Scriptt.*, I. 141; Lardner, *Credibility*, II. 1, p. 600; Boullanger, *Œuvres*, II. 78; Corrodi, *Gesch. der Chiliasmus*, II. 333. Especially: Birger Thorlacius, *Libri sibyllistarum vet. eccl. crisi subiecti*, Hafn. 1815; his *Conspectus doct. chr. in ll. sib.*, in the *Misc. Hafn.*, I. 1; Fr. Bleek, *Ueber die Entstehung und Zusammensetzung der sibyl. Orakel*, in the *Berl. Zeitschr.*, 1821, Pts. I., II.; Dühne, *Alex. Rel. Phil.*, II. 228; Gfrörer, *Urchristenth.*, II. 121; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, I. 66, 248; J. H. Friedlieb, *De codd sib. mss.*, Br. 1847; R. Volkmann, *De orac. sib.*, L. 1855 (textual criticism); H. Ewald, *Ueber Entstehung, Inhalt, und Werth der Sib. Bücher*, Gött. 1858; Frankel, in the *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, 1859; E. Reuss, *Les Sibylles chrétiennes*, 1861. (*Nouvelle Revue*, Vol. VIII.) In contrast with my view H. Dechent (*Ueber das erste, zweite und elfte Buch der sib. Weissagungen*, Frankf. 1873) finds a larger number of ancient Jewish compositions.

The *Ascension and Apocalypse of Isaiah* (ἀναβατικὸν, ὁρασις), mentioned by ancient Fathers, is still extant in an Ethiopic and Latin recension; originally certainly two separate books. *Visio Jesajæ*, Ethiopic, ed. R. Lawrence, Oxf. 1819. The second part was printed in Latin with similar writings, Ven.

1522; from this edition, *Vetus translatio visionis Jesajæ*, ed. J. C. L. Gieseler, Gött. 1832; Engelhardt, *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen*, p. 207 ff.; German by H. Jolowicz, L. 1854. In the Middle Ages it was still used by dissenting sects (§ 330); cf. Gesenius, *Jesaj.*, I. 45; Nitzsch, in the *Studien*, 1830, II.; Hoffmann, in the Halle *Encykl.*, Art. *Jesajas*; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, 274; Gfrörer, *Jahrh. des Heils*, I. 65; Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina*, p. 157 ff.—In its present form the work bears traces of manifold remodeling and of an original separation of the parts. The *Martyrium* appears older, the *Apocalypse* of a more Gnostic character.

The *Apocalypsis Johannis*, the Greek text of which, printed in Birch, p. 243 ff., swarms with linguistic and clerical errors (now improved in Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, p. 70 ff.), is a weak and insipid imitation of a splendid original. Wholly unknown to the ancients, destitute of all chiliastic ideas or other dogmatic character, it owes its existence to the lazy method of book-making prevalent in very late times. Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, I. 953; Thilo, *Acta Thomæ, prolegomena*, p. 81; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, p. 302; Tischendorf, in the *Studien*, 1851, II. 452.

The Fourth Book of Ezra, as to date certainly belonging to the end of the first century, although of Jewish origin, may be mentioned here because it appears to have gone through Christian hands. Latin in Fabricius, Walton, Fritzsche, and in the *Biblia maxima*, V. Separate editions by G. Volkmar, Tüb. 1863; A. Lepelletier, Auxerre, 1872; Ethiopic by R. Lawrence, Oxf. 1820; Arabic by Ewald, in his essay immediately to be cited; modern versions we pass over. Modern discussion of the book: C. J. v. d. Vlis, *De Ezræ libr. IV.*, Amst. 1839; G. Volkmar, *Das 4te Buch Esra*, Zür. 1858; his *Handbuch d. Einl. in die Apocryphen*, Pt. 2, Tüb. 1863; Hilgenfeld, *Apokalyptik*, p. 185 ff., and *Zeitschr.*, 1858, II.; 1860, III.; 1867, III.; 1870, III.; idem, *Die Propheten Esra u. Daniel*, Halle, 1863; A. v. Gutschmidt, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1860, I.; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, I. 144 ff.; Ewald, *Israel*, VII. 62 ff.; idem, *Das vierte Esrabuch*, Gött. 1863; C. Wieseler, in the *Studien*, 1870, II.

A later Christian *Apoc. Esdræ*, an *Apoc. Pauli*, and an *Apoc. Mosis*, all in Greek, and without literary or theological significance, are edited by Tischendorf, *l. c.*

275. Among the Apocalypses some reckon also the work known by the name of The Shepherd, which reaches back into the middle of the second century, and probably does not belong to the Pseudepigrapha at all, but which, in spite of that fact, and notwithstanding energetic opposition, was very widely circulated in the ancient Church and much used as a book of edification. There may have been much that was edificatory in it, according to the taste of the time, however little interesting to us may be its form and contents. Most of it runs in cold allegories, not very closely connected one with another. That part in which the guardian angel of the author, in the form of a shepherd, gives him instruction, has suggested the name of the whole. It is ascribed to a certain Hermas, whom some, erroneously, have made a pupil of Paul. Until recently, no Greek text had been discovered; before, only a poor Latin version was extant.

Ὁ ποιμήν, *pastor*. Latin in Fabricius, II. 738–1036; also in Contelier, Clericus, Hefele, with the Apostolic Fathers, and often separately, last by

Hilgenfeld, L. 1873; also in versions. Greek, after an incomplete Leipzig Codex, ed. R. Anger, 1856; also in Dressel's *PP. apost.*, 1857; and in Hilgenfeld, *N. T. extra canonem receptum*, Vol. III., with the aid of *Cod. Sinaiticus*, here likewise incomplete. Tischendorf regards this Greek text as a medieval retranslation from the Latin, which has itself come down to us only in a very doubtful state through very untrustworthy hands (?). In Dressel's edition there is, in addition to the old Latin version, a second, previously unknown. An Ethiopic version discovered by D'Abbadie and edited in the *Abh. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, II. 1, and separately, L. 1860 f. Dillmann, in the *Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft.*, 1861, p. 111. — Divided into three books, the first containing four *visiones*, the second twelve *mandata*, the third ten *similitudines*, the whole used as the setting for a genuinely Jewish-Christian discourse upon morals, all traces of the Pauline-evangelical element in Christianity having completely disappeared, both in theological propositions and in literary allusions. Its close reference to the various tendencies of the time, especially the Montanistic, has not yet been fully explained. Yet cf. Lipsius, *Der Hirte des Hermas u. der Montanismus in Rom*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1865, 1866.

The author, incorrectly identified with the one mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14 (Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 3; Orig., *ad loc.*; Jerome, *Cat.*, ch. x.), is to be looked for in the middle of the second century and probably in Rome, although not necessarily in the person of an elsewhere named Hermas (*sedente Pio fratre ejus*, i. e., after the year 156; *Canon. Murat.*, § 310; cf. also Pseudo-Tertull., *Adv. Marcion.*, iii. 9). It would be an example altogether isolated in the early Christian literature of the erroneous placing of a work too late, if, in opposition to this testimony, we should be obliged to place the book farther back. The mention of Clement (I. 2, 4) brings us down to the time of the Clementine Pseudepigrapha. Otherwise in Schwegler, I. 328 ff. E. Gaab, *Der Hirte des H.*, Basel, 1866, and T. Zahn, *Der Hirte des H.*, Goth. 1868, also attempt to place the book at the end of the first century; see, against them, Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1869, II.

Irenæus (§ 293), Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*, I. 356; II. 384 f.; IV. 503, 511, and frequently), use and praise it as an inspired book, Origen often, but sometimes with qualifying clauses (*si cui illa scriptura recipienda videtur*, *Hom. 8 in Num.*; *Hom. 1 in Ps. xxxvii.*; in *Matth.*, Bk. XIV., ch. xxi.: *ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένη εἶναι θέλα*, yet *mihi valde utilis videtur et ut puto divinitus inspirata*; *Comm. in Rom.*, Bk. X., ch. xxxi.); Tertullian (*De pudicitia*, ch. x., xx.: *apocryphus pastor mœchorum*) treats it with contempt. — For later opinions see below in the history of the canon.

Cf. in general Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, V. 7; Rosenmüller, *De theol. chr. orig.*, p. 27; Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, II. 1, p. 75; L. Lange, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encykl.*; Lücke, *Offenb. Joh.*, p. 337; and the monographs of P. A. Gratz, Bonn, 1820; C. R. Jachmann, Kön. 1835; O. Torell, *Placita quædam Hermæ*, Lond. 1825; A. Kayser, in the *Strassb. Revue*, XIV. 239 ff.; Anger and Dindorf, *Nachträgliche Bemerkungen zu Hermas*, 1856 ff., 3 Pts.; Hagemann, in the *Tüb. Quartalschr.*, 1860, I.; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschr.*, 1858, p. 423 ff.

276. A last class of Apocrypha embraces a series of writings which have for their purpose to trace back later and more developed ecclesiastical institutions to apostolic authority. Justice demands that we admit that by no means always was there any intentional fraud involved; more often, from excusable ignorance, institutions were ascribed to the first founders of the Church whose origin was lost in remote an-

tiquity and which had already become most intimately connected with the life of the Church itself. A greater interest attaches to these books than to most of those already enumerated, inasmuch as they touch much more closely the actual circumstances and practical life of the Church, or at least give better evidence of its state, than any other class of Pseudepigrapha can be said to do. Succeeding ages also have expressed themselves with respect to them, often in recognition, always at least without repugnance.

In particular, liturgies and forms of prayer and other prescriptions relating to the ordering of public worship were readily ascribed, by pious ignorance, to those Apostles who were generally considered the founders of this or that church or metropolitan see. Thus the Syrian Christians had liturgies of James, Peter, Mark, John, and of the twelve Apostles; the first three names also lend their glory to Greek liturgies; the Ethiopic Church referred theirs to Matthew. To attempt to prove their later origin by critical arguments would be superfluous.

Texts in Fabricius, *Cod. apocr.*, II.; cf. the literature in Buddeus, *Isag.*, p. 756. — J. K. D. P. Reimold, *Die sog. apost. Liturgien aus hist. Gesichtsp. betrachtet*, Heid. 1831; J. Lightfoot, *De liturgia S. Jacobi*, *Opp.*, III. 147; H. Ludolf, *Comm. ad hist. æthiop.*, p. 301. — Bunsen, *Hippolyt.*, II. 363 ff.

277. The most important work of this kind is the so-called Apostolic Constitutions, an almost systematically arranged collection of regulations respecting church government, public worship, spiritual discipline, and similar matters, intermingled with ethical instructions, and couched in general in the style of a sermon. The Apostles appear as a legislative body; only in the last section are certain ordinances put into the mouths of individuals among them. Public opinion finally, but without justification in the text, ascribed the editing of the work to Clement of Rome, whom legend makes, as it were, the general secretary of the twelve. This ancient and noteworthy *Corpus juris* clearly betrays in some portions the purpose of supporting the structure of the Catholic Church by means of a Levitical hierarchy.

The work in its present form was in existence at the earliest toward the end of the fourth century. But it is obvious that older elements are employed in it. (As to whether Irenæus knew such in written form, see Pfaff, *Ad Iren.*, I. 850, ed. Stieren.) The immediate proof of this is that the Apostle Paul is not reckoned among the body, is only mentioned at all a few times in passing, and much else which characterizes the original edition as a Jewish-Christian work. Nor would it have been anything strange if particular prominent churches had very early possessed an order and discipline, in recorded form, based upon a custom readily referred to the Apostles. A frequent copying, in the course of which alterations crept in, is further probable on account of the different names which occur among the ancients for the whole work (*διδάχαλ*, Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 25, § 314; *διδάχη*, Athan., § 320; *διδραξις* or *διαράξεις*, Epiph., *Hær.*, 45, 70, 75, 80, § 320; *διαταγαί*, *διδασκαλία*, in manuscripts), and because all the notices of it are not now appropriate. Contradictions and differing style also prove its gradual rise.

Much more certain results have come from the investigation of the text that has come down to us. According to the most recent criticism it consists of four parts, which arose independently of each other : (1.) Bks. I.–VI., of the second half of the third century; (2.) Bk. VII.; (3.) Bk. VIII., both of the fourth century; (4.) the Apostolic Canons (see the following section), which, however, do not always form the close of the work in manuscripts and editions. The whole was hardly brought into its present form before the latter part of the fourth century. There still remains the variously answered question of alterations to which the ancient constituents may have been subjected when they were combined into one work.

Text, with Greek prolegomena, first by F. Turrianus, Ven. 1563, 4°, later in the collections of several councils; also Mansi, I.; in Contelier, *PP. apost.*; in Gallandi, *Bibl. PP.*, III. Manual editions by Ueltzen, Schwerin, 1853; P. A. de Lagarde, L. 1862.

The canonical authority of the present collection has never been great (especially in the West); the Trullan Synod, 692, expressly rejected it. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Catholic and Anglican critics from hierarchical interests, Whiston (§ 341) from oddity, wrote in favor of its genuineness. Of the rich literature (Buddeus, *Isag.*, p. 662) we cite J. Dallæus, *De pseudepigraphis app. s. ll. VIII. constitutionum*, Hard. 1653; J. F. Cotta, *De const. app.*, Tüb. 1746; O. Krabbe, *Ueber den Ursprung und Gehalt der app. Const.*, Hamb. 1829; J. S. v. Drey, *Neue Unterss. über die Constit. und Canones der App.*, Tüb. 1832 (previously in the *Quartalschr.*, 1829). Cf. Rosenmüller, *Hist. interpr.*, I. 117; Schröckh, *Kirchengesch.*, II. 127; Kestner, *Agape*, p. 187; Hug, in the (older) *Freiburger Zeitschr.*, V. 153; Baur, in the *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1838, III. 131; Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeitalter*, I. 406; Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, 598; Ueltzen, in Rudelbach's *Zeitschr.*, 1854, IV.; Bunsen, *Hippolyt.*, I. 418 ff. [E. tr. Lond. 1874]; Jacobson, in Herzog's *Encykl.*

The *Apostolic Didaskalia*, in the Coptic, Syriac, and Ethiopic languages, recently discovered and in part printed, also a different Greek recension (Antiochene), in several of which the name of Hippolytus figures, may be mentioned here, inasmuch as they show relationship with ours (especially the eighth book). *The Ethiopic Didaskalia, or the Eth. version of the Apost. Constit. received in the church of Abyssinia, with an English version*, by T. P. Platt, Lond. 1834, 4°; *Didascalía app. syriace*, ed. P. de Lagarde, L. 1854.

278. Smaller, but in a practical view still more important, is another collection which bears the name of the Apostolic Canons. This is a series of short legal provisions respecting various points of discipline, without order. Some of them may be very old, others may have arisen from ecclesiastical custom, others still may have been introduced as special decrees of councils. The Greek Church receives them, as edited, in eighty-five articles, by Johannes Scholasticus, a priest of Antioch, afterward patriarch of Constantinople, about the middle of the sixth century. They also are commonly held to be a collection of laws dictated by the Apostles to Clement of Rome. The Latin Church had even earlier obtained a similar collection through the Roman priest Dionysius Exiguus, which contains only the first fifty articles of the Greek recension, but never officially recognized its apostolic authorship. Neither the shorter nor the longer collection was probably brought to its final form before the fifth century.

The acts of councils even in the fourth century contain quite similar regulations or appeal to older ones (*οἱ παλαιοὶ κανόνες*), which are not necessarily to be thought of, however, as already edited collections. The official collection as it is now extant was sanctioned in 692 by the Synod at Constantinople (Trullana). Text in the editions cited in § 277, sometimes as the close of the eighth book of the Constitutions. Also separately, *Canones app. c. scholiis*, J. B. Bernhold, Altd. 1733; Buksen, *Hippolyt.*, II. 100 ff.; Ethiopic recension in Ludolf, *l. c.* (§ 276).

For criticism and exposition cf. W. Beveridge, *De canonibus app.*, in Coute-lier, *Patres app.*, I. 427 ff.; Buddeus, *Isag.*, p. 659; J. P. Hebenstreit, *De canon. app.*, Jena, 1701; J. W. Janus, Vit. 1706; H. Benzell, Lund. 1730; Lardner, *Credibility*, II. 4, p. 283; Von Drey, see § 277; O. Krabbe, *De cod. canonum qui App. nomine circumferuntur*, Gött. 1829; Regenbrecht, *De canon. App.*, Br. 1828; Jacobson, in Herzog's *Encykl.*, I. 447. — Older Catholic writers, as Sixtus of Siena (§ 16), Franc. Turrianus (*Pro canonibus app.*, Flor. 1572), still accepted them as genuine, and sometimes brought them into connection with the so-called councils at Jerusalem and Antioch (from the latter of which still other canons beside these are derived, cf. Bickell, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*, p. 138).

279. Of all the Pseudepigrapha none has been more widely circulated or attained greater authority than the confession of faith known as the Apostles' Creed. The tradition of the Latin Church makes it to have been composed by the Apostles before their alleged separation. It is certain that such formulas have always been in use, especially at baptismal services. Short and simple in the beginning, they were gradually extended as doctrine was more definitely developed in opposition to heresy. The one here mentioned is not, in its present form, the oldest symbol accepted by the whole Christian Church; but the pre-vaillingly biblical character of its propositions, free from all later scholasticism, certainly points to an early date, and justifies the name it bears, although in a different sense from the traditional one.

Well-known but late is the fable that each one of the twelve uttered a sentence of the creed, and thus the whole came into existence.

Text in most editions of the Catechisms of the principal Christian confessions; expositions of it in Walch, *Introd. in ll. symb.*, p. 86 ff.; Semler, *Appar. ad ll. symb.*, p. 18; Buddeus, *Isag.*, p. 396; Bingham, *Antiqq.*, IV. 62 ff.; Ittig, *Hist. sec. I.*, p. 77 ff.; G. J. Voss, *De III. symbolis*, Amst. 1662. — Monographs by Enoch Hanmann, L. 1653; L. Gernler, Bas. 1669; A. Strauch, Vit. 1668; P. King, L. 1706; J. G. Neumann, Vit. 1711; L. Benzelstjerna, Ups. 1748; J. F. Gruner, in the Hall. *Samml.*, I. 2; II. 1; A. Brisset, Str. 1831; E. Köllner, Gött. 1836; Schmieder, L. 1846; A. Kayser, in the *Strassb. Revue*, X. 152; D. Bonneton, Toulouse, 1858; B. Grawitz, Montp. 1864; A. Viguié, Nîmes, 1864; J. Planta, Toulouse, 1868, and especially M. Nicolas, *Essai hist. sur le symb. des apôtres*, P. 1867. The older theology attempted to prove, even by the aid of the Jewish, the high antiquity and inner genuineness of the Apostles' Creed: J. C. Schramm, *De S. ap. in Talmude rudibus*, Hlm. 1706.

Collections of such formulas: J. Usseus, *De symb. ap. aliisque formulis*, etc., Oxf. 1660; C. W. F. Walch, *Bibliotheca symbolica vetus ex monumentis quinque priorum secc. collecta*, Lemgo, 1770; A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*

und Glaubensregeln der ap. kath. Kirche, Br. 1842 ; a similar collection in Nicolas, *l. c.* — That similar formulas were in use among heretics, see Zorn, *Opp.*, 156 ff.

280. The sacred literature of the Christian Churches and sects owes its origin, therefore, to two essentially different periods of development, after that, at the first, a period of oral instruction had been completely sufficient for all needs. The first period comprises the century of the Apostles and the writings which proceeded from the generation to which was entrusted the first founding of the Church. Although unequal in inner power, and differing from one another in tendency, they nevertheless bear in greater or less degree the stamp of the holy and mighty Spirit, which was beginning, by its silent rule in the hearts of men, the transformation of the world. And it is precisely this Spirit which was denied to the productions of the second period, whether because they were content with imitation and were willing to follow older models, or because, with all their claims to equal authority, they owed their origin to the domination of the systems or the working of the imagination, or to even lower motives. This difference, whose true and practical significance gradually became clear to the Church, and the battle which arose between the two classes, constitutes the interest of the History of the Canon.

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